FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-016
Thursday
26 January 1989

Daily Report
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FBIS-SOV-89-016 *26 January 1989*

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CSSR Premier Supports 'European Home' Concept

LD2401015889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government, has given an interview to the Polish newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA. He warmly welcomed the concept of a "common European home" put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Ladislav Adamec also emphasized that the CSSR's support for the Soviet initiatives is expressed not just in words but in specific deeds and proposals. There are no longer any missiles with nuclear warheads on Czechoslovak territory. Czechoslovakia has also come out with an initiative on the setting up of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborliness at the meeting point of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

GDR's Honecker Announces Unilateral Troop Cut

LD2401064489 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin January 23 TASS—The German Democratic Republic (GDR) makes an all-round contribution to the realisation of the joint peace strategy of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the GDR's Council of State, said here today at a reception given in honour of Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.

"We fully support the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives which were put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly and which are aimed at improving the international situation," he emphasised. "A unilateral withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from the GDR's territory, which the initiatives envisage, will be effected through close coordination between our two governments."

"Guided by a desire to make a new constructive contribution to the disarmament process," Honecker said, "the GDR's National Defence Council has decided to reduce the National People's Army by 10,000 men unilaterally and independently from negotiations."

"The disbandment of six tank regiments, the phasing out of 600 tanks, which will be either converted for economic uses or will be scrapped as well as the deactivation of an air squadron and the phasing out of 50 combat aircraft will be connected with this substantial cut-back in the Army personnel."

"At the same time expenditures for national defence will be reduced by ten per cent. These measures are to be completed before the end of 1990 while the structure of the GDR's National People's Army will be changed so as to acquire a still more pronounced defensive character."

"The successful completion of the Vienna follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) created favourable prerequisites for deepening the CSCE process in all aspects covered by the final act of the Helsinki conference," the GDR leader went on to say.

"We consider it particularly important that the way is now open for talks during which agreement on reductions in the armed forces and conventional arms should be reached."

"We regard statements by almost all participants in the Paris conference in favour of immediate conclusion of a convention on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons as a call for getting down to business in Geneva."

"The German Democratic Republic, which is situated at the line of demarcation between the two major military organisations, persistently comes out in favour of including tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the disarmament process, and not modernising them," Honecker emphasised.

Akhromeyev Explains Resignation as Chief of Staff

LD2501154689 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The main principle of the development of the Soviet armed forces is now to secure defence sufficiency—i.e. a desire to have an army and a navy numerically essential for reliably repulsing aggression—and to ensure such sufficiency predominantly on qualitatively new parameters, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev said in an interview published in the Moscow NEWS WEEKLY on Wednesday.

He said the High Command, troops and naval forces were being trained in the conduct of defensive operations. "In agreement with our allies we began to reduce and change the organisational structure of our troops. We are giving a defensive character to the bodies of armed forces in Europe as a whole".

The marshal remarked with regret that the North Atlantic Alliance has not so far manifested any positive changes concerning a solution of matters which arouse the Soviet Union's concern.

The USSR is still encircled by U.S. military bases at which combat aircraft and navy vessels are stationed. The number of the bases does not diminish. Fifteen U.S. carrier-based strike forces are either already deployed or ready for deployment in seas adjacent to Soviet territory.

The marshal described the situation as abnormal that at a time when the Soviet Union is reducing its armed forces by 500,000 men, the West has decided to station U.S. F-16 bombers in Italy and to modernise tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

"One should not think that the Soviet Union and its allies will completely unilaterally disarm while members of the North Atlantic Alliance watch without taking adequate measures themselves."

Akhromeyev refuted conjectures that appeared in the West concerning an alleged connection between the announcement of a reduction in the Soviet armed forces and his replacement as chief of the USSR General Staff.

"A reduction in our armed forces by 500,000 men will be the result of a large amount of analytical work, including that done by the military. Naturally, the leadership of the General Staff took part in the work together with others from the very outset".

He explains his resignation from the post by saying that at the age of 66 it was already difficult for him to perform the diverse and complex duties which require 14 to 15 hours work a day.

At present Sergey Akhromeyev is an adviser to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. He referred to his successor—Colonel-General Mikhail Moiseyev, the present chief of the General Staff, as a competent and industrious general who is distinguished in the armed forces for his high qualities.

U.S., Soviet Defense Budget Cuts Recommended

LD2601043389 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] On Tuesday, the first early hearing on the federal budget deficit was held at the White House involving the speakers of the Senate and House. Here is Vladislav Kozyakov's commentary:

This year the budget deficit is expected to stand at somewhere between $140 billion and $150 billion. Coping with it is the top priority for both the United States and the rest of the Western world, whose economies largely depend on the state of America's finance. One of the latest reminders of the fact was the stock market panic of 1987.

Budget deficit is also a headache for the Soviet Union. According to official statistics, it will stand at $55 billion this year; and a Soviet economist, Oleg Bogomolov, says it may top $160 billion next year. The reasons given include a chronic shortage of goods and the Armenian earthquake. All of that makes the problem even more painful for the Soviet Union than it is for the United States. The main cause of the deficit, however, is shared by the two nations and lies in their excessive military spending.

The Americans acknowledge the fact and estimate that they have spent $2.2 trillion on defense purposes over the past 8 years. The Soviet Union has yet to publish its data, but its goverment and experts alike deem lower military spending crucial to coping with the growing budget deficit. To match words with deeds, the Soviet Union will curtail its defense budget by 14.2 percent by the end of next year. Production of weapons and military equipment is to go down by 19 percent over the same period.

Moscow has belatedly grasped the true meaning of the competitive strategy worked out by the former Pentagon chief, Caspar Weinberger, and designed to impose an arms race on the Soviet Union. It has renounced over-armament and is seeking defense sufficiency. The two countries could improve their budgets much more effectively if they signed further disarmament agreements. This would spare the White House and Congress the current heated debate on what arms to finance and how to correct the budget disbalance.

The INF Treaty has shown that arms reductions accompanied by reliable verification procedures are an issue of consensus between the White House and Capital Hill, as well as between the House and Senate. Financial considerations suggest that Washington could follow Moscow's suit in replacing over-armament with defense sufficiency.

UN Disarmament Conference Ends in Geneva

LD2501204889 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva January 25 TASS—A conference on problems and prospects of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, organised by the U.N. Disarmament Institute, has closed in Geneva.

Influential specialists on disarmament issues discussed in a business-like and constructive spirit the vital questions of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe.

Representatives of socialist, many neutral and non-aligned nations stressed their aspiration to make the process of arms reduction irreversible.

The recent Vienna follow-up meeting on security and cooperation in Europe and the meaningful final document it adopted undoubtedly had a favourable effect on the work of the Geneva forum.

CEMA Executive Committee Session Ends

40th Anniversary Marked

PM2501142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Honor of the 40th Anniversary of CEMA"]

[Text] The ceremonial part of the 130th CEMA Executive Committee session, which began in Moscow 23 January, was devoted to CEMA's 40th anniversary.

Representatives of the countries attending the session gathered to celebrate the date: A. Lukanov, Bulgaria; P. Medgyessy, Hungary; Tran Duc Luong, SRV; H. Soelle, GDR; A. Esquivel, Cuba; M. Peljee, Mongolia; I. Sekula, Poland; S. Andrei, Romania; N. Talyzin, USSR; and J. Obzina, CSSR.

Leaders of the CEMA Executive Committee and Secretariat, organization veterans, CEMA institution personnel, representatives of the Moscow public, and the heads of diplomatic missions of CEMA countries in Moscow were present.

The speeches by A. Lukanov, chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, and V. Sychev, secretary of the council (USSR), pointed out that the creation of CEMA in 1949 was an important milestone in the process of socialist transformations in the world initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The organization's existence has been marked by a quest for the most effective ways of deepening and improving cooperation, developing socialist economic integration and planned economic development, and accelerating economic and technical progress in these countries with the main aim of steadily boosting the prosperity of their people.

Major joint ventures include the "Druzhba" pipeline, the "Soyuz" gas pipeline, the creation of international banks for economic cooperation and investment, the construction of a whole series of integrated industrial facilities within the CEMA countries, and others. Mutual cooperation among CEMA countries is a reliable means of meeting the requirements of their economies for the most important types of industrial and agricultural output.

It was said that in the late eighties the socialist community has entered a complex period in its development. Its successes are indisputable and universally recognized. However, braking factors have also arisen along the way. It was stressed that present conditions of economic development and cooperation have put forward new tasks and necessitated new approaches to solving them. The comprehensive concept for the international socialist division of labor, providing for its restructuring, is of fundamental importance for socialist economic integration. It is based on decisions made by the communist and workers parties of CEMA countries on questions of economic and social development, the decisions of the countries' economic summit conference, and the comprehensive program for their scientific and technical cooperation.

The concept's implementation will make it possible to effect a strategic breakthrough in science and technology and will help to at least double social labor productivity. As a result, conditions for improving the socialist lifestyle will be created more successfully.

Communique Issued

LD2501142989 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) ended its 130th meeting here on Wednesday.

A communique issued after the three-day deputy premiers' meeting said, among other things, that the committee heard a report by the CMEA Secretariat on preliminary consultations with an expert delegation from the EEC on the further development of relations between the two organisations.

The committee authorised the Secretariat to begin discussing specific areas, forms and methods of cooperation with the EEC.

The meeting also endorsed programmes for contacts with international economic, scientific and engineering organisations, including cooperation with the U.N. Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), the Latin American Economic System (LAES), the U.N. Environment Programme (UNEP), the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).

The planned contacts include CMEA participation in international conferences, U.N.-sponsored seminars for representatives of developing countries, exchanges of information and method- and norm-setting material on the activities of the CMEA and corresponding international organisations, and cooperation in preparing joint studies and projects.

The committee examined and approved proposals for upgrading the activities of commissions for cooperation with developing nations which have relevant agreements with the CMEA. It also endorsed proposals regarding possible areas and forms of cooperation with the Latin American Organisation for Energy Development.

The meeting discussed a wide range of issues connected with the continued development of cooperation among CMEA members. It reviewed the progress of preparatory work on a number of projects in the fields of science, production and technology.

Six such projects have been agreed upon so far, which involve the design of high-efficiency equipment to manufacture new structural materials and the introduction of new protective coating technology and preparations for raising the yield of the main agricultural crops.

The committee discussed improving cooperation in currency and financial fields amoung CMEA members. In particular, it considered a report on measures worked out by interested countries for using national currencies to pay for goods and services supplied within the framework of direct contacts.

News Conference Held

LD2601050589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Esteemed comrades, a news conference was held in Moscow today for Soviet and foreign journalists at the end of the proceedings of the 130th session of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. [video shows news conference participants]

The Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, which is marking its 40th anniversary, is extending glasnost to all its activities. This decision in the spirit of the new thinking was announced at today's news conference in Moscow. Taking part in it were Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CEMA, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Sychev, CEMA secretary; and Vaclav Soukup, head of the Information Department of the CEMA Secretariat.

It was announced at the news conference that journalists would henceforth be able to attend discussions on various questions at CEMA Executive Committee meetings and meetings of other CEMA bodies. CEMA documents would be opened up to a considerably greater degree. At the news conference frank and businesslike replies were given to questions, including ones which until recently were regarded as tricky or awkward.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified journalist] Was there any discussion of the recent customs restrictions in the USSR and other socialist countries?

[Lukanov] The adoption of the measures to which you refer was evidently brought about by a certain situation that has arisen in the markets of a number of countries and some tension from the point of view of the equilibrium of markets and the correlation between the amount of money circulating in these markets and the amount of goods and services offered to the population. This puts some pressure on this most important balance, not just economically, but also from a social and even a political point of view because of purchases by citizens of other countries. In a number of instances this occurs—I refer to Bulgaria—on a scale that far surpasses common sense. And evidently it is no coincidence in the final analysis that a number of countries have—reluctantly, I would say—chosen to apply such measures.

[Sychev] Temporary measures.

[Lukanov] Of course. As far as we are aware—this is how we consider this matter in Bulgaria—these measures are of a temporary nature. They are basically undesirable and we just hope that the efforts currently being made both on the national level and on the CEMA level to satisfy the internal markets with consumer goods and to intensify trade between countries in this sphere will gradually lead to a situation in which measures of this kind become unnecessary, and we will be able not just to dispense with these measures, but also to pursue a long-term strategic policy of openness and liberalization of our internal markets and a more active cross-border traffic of people.

[Second unidentified journalist] Could you tell me whether a situation may not arise in the future in which the CEMA will be developing in two gears, so to speak, at the enterprise level, while some countries of the community will lag behind a bit?

[Lukanov] As distinct from, say, the Western European Economic Community, our organization does not incorporate supranational elements. Each of the countries retains full sovereignty in the field of its economic policy and in its economic decisions and the ways and means of managing economic life. Different points of view do exist on ways to tackle the task of intensifying integration, and we do not conceal this fact. This is because of certain differences in the forms and methods of conducting economic policy, differences in the levels of economic development, historical circumstances, and so on.

Certain member countries, which because of the changes occurring in their economic life, are now ready to apply new working methods and new forms of cooperation and to opt more decisively for direct ties, joint investment, and a more energetic use of commodity-money integration instruments, and are not obliged to sit it out, so to speak, until such time as we reach a complete unity of views. A number of countries have begun to be more active in using approaches such as the partial mutual convertibility of national currencies and the transferable ruble among themselves. I would say that a sort of system is emerging within the CEMA framework in which several countries are participating. Certain countries are much more energetic and rapid than others in applying this in the form of joint investments and setting up joint enterprises at the initiative of economic organizations. It must be said that Bulgaria is particularly active in this area, as are a number of other countries.

I would thus not draw a mechanical comparison here with the idea of a community in two gears, as you said. But it can be said that a nucleus of countries is emerging that are applying new methods of integration. I personally

believe that the successful use of these methods cannot fail to affect the whole CEMA system; it cannot fail to lead to all these countries gradually—on the basis of their own assessment of the advisability of the application of these methods and of their success in relations with other partners—reaching the conclusion that the application of the new methods is advisable and necessary.

And here is another point. The fact that we are bringing in new working methods, new modes of approach, and new forms does not mean that we are renouncing the traditional ones. The successes of integration are unarguable. The fact that we are currently analyzing the situation critically does not mean that we are renouncing our achievements and the methods which have enabled us to attain a high level of economic integration. [end recording]

[Announcer] It was noted at the press conference that the 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee considered in detail questions of extending multilateral cooperation among the CEMA member countries in developing material production and scientific-technical progress, and in tackling social tasks. CEMA has entered its 41st year of existence in a situation of profound changes and a loyalty to common progress.

Poland's Sekula Comments

LD2501232189 Warsaw PAP in English 2231 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 25—Towards the end of his visit to the Soviet Union, Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula who took part in the 130th session of the CMEA Executive Committee here, granted an interview to PAP, in which he said that the topics discussed by the committee boiled down to such fundamental questions as the currency-financial mechanism, currency rates, and prices.

This is a clear symptom of changes closely connected with the fact that some socialist countries like Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union, are now experiencing a very intensive, accelerated process of reforming their economic systems, Sekula said.

For example, Poland will have a currency exchange within weeks, a currency market will come to existence, and a new law on foreign currencies and banks will come into force. We can no longer steer the enteprises with the use of old planistic [as received] instruments. We can only provide conditions for higher or lower profitability of various types of production and this way stimulate the development of trade. Only the idea of profitability consists in a simultaneous use of real money, real prices, and rational currency rates, without that our measures will always be simply artificial.

A special working group is now urgently preparing the proposals of changes. Of course, the opinions of the individual states on the methods and, first of all, pace of the necessary reforms in the activities of the council were divided. The Soviet, Hungarian, and Polish delegations favoured very rapid measures which is obvious because the process of reforms is most advanced in these countries.

In any case all agree today about the very necessity of reforms and this process has surely begun. Its elements include the already undertaken decisions on holding a joint conference with the EEC, establishing cooperation with the European Free Trade Association, and greater openness of the CMEA to cooperation with other states. Another decision was to start greater openness in the work of the council.

Similar things were discussed also at the meeting of the Polish-Soviet inter-governmental committee. We have together decided not to wait for the formulation of new principles and economic mechanisms of cooperation by the CMEA but to apply them in bilateral relations and in smaller groups of states willing to follow them.

Our decisions, adopted together with the Soviet Union can be an example of a fast march to reforms. We have agreed to use national currencies in our dealings, provide conditions for a truly wide and large-scale direct cooperation among enterprises, to increase the range of joint ventures and to seek greater differentiation of cooperation forms. This will be served by the established joint Polish-Soviet industrial-commercial chamber. Of major importance are our decisions on intensification of trade in border areas.

The decisions adopted by the committee give a qualitatively new character to the Polish-Soviet cooperation. We intend to carry on and develop these activities in the coming months while working on the coordination of five-year plans for the years 1991-95.

As it is known, the Soviet Union is Poland's traditional and biggest trading partner and our industry largely relies on Soviet supplies of raw and other materials. In our talks on plans coordination we have to reconcile two things: government guarantees on the supply of strategic goods (first of all raw materials and fuels for Poland and other raw materials, machines, and equipment for the Soviet Union) with parallel creation of conditions for the enterprises' own initiative in starting direct cooperation.

Getting the enterprises involved in this process is an extremely important thing today. This is why we have spoken for a three-level system of plans' coordination with the first level being centrally planned and concerning strategic questions, the ministry level and, finally, the level of the enterprise. We want to make no limitations at the last level.

Apart from that we have also discussed our debt in the Soviet Union. We are now seeking its rescheduling for the period beyond 1995.

Sekula said he was pleased that the process of economy reforming in the Soviet Union and Poland not only did not disturb our cooperation but, conversely, reinforced it considerably. It has turned out that the reform, a radical one, even more links our economies.

CSSR's Obzina Cited

LD2501230289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1544 GMT 25 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valentin Dvinin; interview with Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and CEMA Executive Committee session participant, by correspondent Georgiy Yakovlev; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Dvinin] Jaromir Obzina, a participant in the CEMA Executive Committee session, deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government, shared his view on CEMA's future with our correspondent Georgiy Yakovlev. [video shows Yakovlev and Obzina seated inside a room, views of tape recorder recording to one side of the seated men, a television shown in another corner near the window]

[Yakovlev] Comrade Obzina, taking into account the modern conditions of the economic development of each of the participant countries, along what path will that international organization be developing in the future?

[Obzina] In 1985 CEMA began to work on completely new principles. This was born with the adoption of a program for scientific and technological progress up to the year 2000. We are trying to resolve the main questions together, all the 10 countires and each individually. One of them is economic ties with the most developed capitalist countries. Last year CEMA concluded a treaty, an agreement, on future cooperation, which has made it possible, for example, for Czechoslovakia to conclude its own national treaty with the European Economic Community on many types of Czechoslovak output which we can now, without any kinds of obstacles, export to the West. That was not the case before.

[Yakovlev] In your view what kind of negative phenomena and tendencies need to be removed from CEMA's work at the present stage?

[Obzina] I think they are questions one can look at from two sides. The first side is the objective state of the economies of our countries. Our market is not always supplied with those goods that are essential to our peoples, our populations. The second question is the fairly large indebtedness of some socialist countries and it is generally known that [words indistinct] successfully build capitalist society on credits and debts, but I am convinced that one cannot successfully build a socialist society in such a way. Sometimes we are afraid or do not know how or are not capable of using those advantages that the socialist community gives us.

[Yakovlev] And the last question I had was about glasnost. Tell me please—both in the Soviet Union and in certain other socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia I know, glasnost is popular—how is it reflected in the work and activities of CEMA?

[Obzina] I think that it is reflected in two directions: in criticism and in the spreading of good examples. I'll start with the first. It won't help anybody if we only criticize and seek out only the negative and shady sides of our work.

[Yakovlev] But that's not the aim.

[Obzina] That's not even the aim. We can and ought clearly to create our own press center—which we don't have! In my view we can and ought to accept the accreditation of journalists from fraternal socialist countries and from capitalist countries and give them all essential information so that not only in our countries but also throughout the whole world they could report what the CEMA represents today.

[Yakovlev] Thank you.

Gerasimov Gives News Briefing 25 January

Comments on Bush, Carlucci

LD2501154489 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The intention of trying to improve Soviet-American relations expressed by U.S. President George Bush in an interview with the U.S. weeklies TIME and NEWSWEEK is quite understandable, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here on Wednesday. His intention to reassess the state of Soviet-American relations so that the new administration can work out proposals concerning their further development is also understandable. The sooner this process is started, the sooner it will lead to the formulation of concrete proposals that could become a subject of negotiations.

On its part, Gerasimov continued, the Soviet Union is ready to work for the stable many-sided development of a constructive dialogue with the United States, which was pointed out in a message of greeting sent by Mikhail Gorbachev to George Bush on the occasion of his inauguration.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on a report that Frank Carlucci, former U.S. defence secretary, submitted to the U.S. Congress. The report said, among other things, that the Soviet Union had an advantage over the U.S. in strategic forces. Gerasimov recalled in this connection that the Soviet-American SALT-2 Treaty concluded in 1979 had set ceilings for the development of strategic offensive forces equal for both countries. "The USSR abides by the provisions of the treaty which is more than can be said for the American side. The U.S. has exceeded one of the limits set for heavy bombers with air-based long-range cruise missiles onboard," Gerasimov pointed out.

At present both sides proceed from the assumption that there is a parity between them in strategic offensive armaments. This is why it is difficult to understand why Frank Carlucci stated in his report that the USSR had an advantage in this sphere, Gerasimov said.

Touching upon Carlucci's remarks about the modernisation of strategic missile forces in the USSR for the purpose of making missile complexes mobile, Gerasimov pointed out that mobility increased the invulnerability of forces and helped preserve their retaliatory capability and not their first-strike capacity. Thus, this measure is aimed at enhancing the stability of the strategic relationship, a fact that is also admitted by the American side.

Allegations contained in the report to the effect that an anti-satellite system has been deployed in the USSR which is kept in a state of readiness show that the former U.S. defence secretary does not wish to take into consideration real facts, Gerasimov said. He recalled that in August 1983 the USSR had pledged unilaterally not to launch any anti-satellite weapons as long as other countries, including the U.S., refrain from doing so.

Discusses Galvin Speech

LD2501153989 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—"The Soviet Union does not modernize tactical nuclear systems and is ready to begin talks on these types of armaments," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today. He commented on the recent speech in Bonn of John Galvin, supreme allied commander Europe.

The spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry noted General Galvin's positive evaluation of the Soviet unilateral measures in the disarmament field and also NATO's preparedness, expressed by him, to solidify stability in Europe at the lowest level of armaments.

"At the same time, some of Galvin's remarks are hardly logical and grounded. He linked prospects for disarmament in Europe with the line of bringing pressure to bear on each other. In actual fact disarmament is possible along the lines of renouncing power pressure politics. NATO representative's bid to prove what is impossible to prove—that modernisation of Lance tactical missiles and the development of a totally new missile to replace it is allegedly prompted by the security interests—also puts us on our guard."

It is necessary that military rivalry should be limited, including that in the field of the development of new types of armaments, rather than calculations be made how many armaments each of the sides has. A limit should be imposed on military rivalry in the future as well. In other case, the quantitative parameters of security will be increasingly moved to the sphere of qualitative ones. As a result we will witness a further destabilization of security rather than its strengthening, Gerasimov stressed in conclusion.

Views Afghanistan Situation

LD2501155189 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The Afghan armed opposition is continuing attempts to set up an economic blockade of Kabul and destabilise the situation there with acts of terrorism, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here on Wednesday.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing that rebels responded to the government's efforts to increase trade and combat sabotage by firing rockets into the business quarter and vegetable market of the capital several days ago.

Besides, acts of terrorism were committed, leaving a law-enforcement officer and a serviceman dead.

Rebels also rocketed an electric power station in Sirub in a bid to deprive Kabul of electricity supplies.

The Afghan Government and the Soviet side, Gerasimov continued, are making efforts to scuttle the opposition's plans to impose an economic blockade on Kabul.

Convoys of trucks with fuel and food are arriving in the city from Khairaton and Soviet transports with flour land there daily. The humane supply operation is appreciated by all sections of the population in Kabul as well as social organisations and the Afghan leadership.

The Soviet Union, the spokesman went on, keeps giving economic assistance within the framework of the U.N. Emergency Aid Program (the Soviet contribution under it is some 660 million dollars).

The Soviet side has already turned over to the United Nations, as part of this contribution, 14 well-appointed settlements built by Soviet Army troops in several Afghan provinces. They will be used to house Afghan refugees returning from Pakistan and Iran.

Considering an acute shortate of a whole number of commodities, primarily food, the Afghan Government has decided to use part of the Soviet aid in commodities without waiting for it to registered with the U.N.

Regrettably, part of the commodities delivered to provinces, including supplies under the U.N. aegis, is seized and looted by the armed opposition.

The Soviet spokesman said also that some donor countries, including the United States, are holding back aid to Afghanistan and keeping it from being extended to cover areas controlled by the central government, by attaching political strings to their aid.

Encourages Nuclear-Free Balkans

LD2501155889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1447 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 January (TASS)—"The Soviet Union understands and wishes well the efforts of the states of the Balkan peninsula to set up multilateral cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural fields and their intention to cooperate in turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

He commented on the outcome of the meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of six Balkan states, which took place in Tirana 18-20 January.

The development of events in this direction would not only promote the improvement of the climate in the region, but it would exert a positive influence on the situation in Europe, stressed the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

One of the prerequisites of success in solving ecological problems should be the raising of the role of the UN mechanism and, in the first place, the UN program on the environment, Gennadiy Gerasimov continued when evaluating the outcome of the international conference on cooperation in solving ecological problems, which took place in Nairobi last week. Its participants were unanimous that the questions of environmental protection have acquired a global nature and have reached in their significance and poignancy the level of problems of disarmament and regional conflicts.

In answering the question regarding the timetable of Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that the Soviet Union is fulfilling its obligations within the framework of the Geneva agreements, which includes the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan by 15 February of this year.

Touching upon the conference of oil producing countries—members of OPEC and oil-producing states which are not its members—which is opening in London, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that a Soviet observer, a representative of the all-union foreign trade association "Nefteeksport", will take part in this work.

The representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the newsmen about the creation of the first Soviet-Turkish joint-stock company "Transborsfor." It will service sea-going vessels and render agency services in the sphere of maritime transportation.

Cooperative Advertises Foreign Firms Mediation

PA2501234989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Jan

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World Reaction to Gorbachev Remarks Cited
PM2301100489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS 20 January roundup: "In the Vanguard of the Struggle for Peace"]

[Excerpts] The foreign mass media and prominent statesmen and politicians are commenting widely on M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Trilateral Commission. Assessing highly the new Soviet peace initiatives, they emphasize their great significance for the acceleration of the disarmament process and the creation of an atmosphere of stability, trust, and cooperation in international relations.

Washington—The Soviet president, the American news agency AP reports, stated that his program for reducing the Soviet Armed Forces by half a million men will lead to a reduction in the Army and Navy by 240,000 men in the European part of the country and by 200,000 men in the eastern part in 2 years. This statement by the Soviet leader is today the most detailed explanation of what his UN speech in December meant in concrete terms.

The U.S. State Department is studying M.S. Gorbachev's remarks at the meeting with representatives of the Trilateral Commission, an official spokesman for the American foreign policy department said. We welcome the fact, he noted, that the Soviet leader has announced additional details of the unilateral reduction in his conventional armed forces.

The White House assessed as constructive the USSR's decision to withdraw formations and units from central Europe with all their armaments, including tactical nuclear systems. This decision "indicates that the Soviet Union is withdrawing real combat potential."

Pentagon spokesman D. Howard, for his part, said: "We applaud this decision by the USSR," stressing at the same time that the United States does not plan to make "unilateral reductions in the spirit of reciprocity."

Welcoming the Soviet decision, official U.S. State Department Spokesman Ch. Redman added: "NATO will still retain in Europe modern forces and the minimum quantity of nuclear weapons necessary for the strategy of deterrence," pointing out that "NATO has a program for the modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe which is in progress."

Brussels—A spokesman for NATO Headquarters stated that NATO welcomes the unilateral reduction in tactical nuclear systems in Europe announced by the Soviet Union, and regards this Soviet step as encouraging.

"The measures announced by the Kremlin aimed at reducing arms will make the process of modernization of NATO's nuclear arms more difficult," Belgian Foreign Minister L. Tindemans believes. "It will be increasingly difficult for Western countries to implement these plans of theirs in the face of public opinion. This is a new challenge to NATO."

The new Soviet initiatives, Belgium's LE SOIR writes, threaten to exacerbate disagreements within NATO on the problem of tactical nuclear arms, since some countries do not consider the planned modernization necessary. [passage omitted]

Bonn—FRG Chancellor H. Kohl welcomed the USSR's readiness to embark on the reduction of its tactical nuclear systems in central Europe. An official government spokesman reported that the chancellor believes that this decision by the Soviet leadership will be a positive contribution to the process of disarmament and arms control.

London—In a BBC television interview British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary G. Howe described the USSR's decision to reduce its tactical nuclear systems in Europe as a "political step." "The Soviet Union," he said, "has made another 'surprise' statement of its intention to withdraw certain categories of arms. We do not intend to throw our hats in the air in response to this decision." The minister added: "But do not think I am rejecting it completely."

At the same time N. Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party, assessed the USSR's decision highly and appealed to Margaret Thatcher's government to "respond constructively" to the new Soviet peace initiatives, whose implementation will help strengthen peace and security in Europe.

Tokyo—Japanese Prime Minister N. Takeshita welcomed the upcoming reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces in the eastern part of the USSR announced by the Soviet leader to representatives of the Trilateral Commission. "I think it is a very good thing," the Japanese premier said, answering journalists' questions.

Beijing—A PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman declared his satisfaction with the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw some troops from the territory of other countries, expressing the hope that "this process will continue." [passage omitted]

Adamishin on Gorbachev UN Speech, Human Rights
LD1901041889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1336 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—"Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session is producing an impression with its deep, philosophical penetration into the realities of the world and practical proposals for a settlement of the most topical painful points in the life of mankind," Anatoliy Adamishin, a USSR deputy foreign minister, writes in a commentary for the TASS International Service. You will still need to read and reread this, without exaggeration, historic speech to become fully aware of the whole potential contained within it. If we single out just one sphere—the humanitarian one, which is close to my professional occupation—there is not simply a lot that is fundamentally new here. In practice, it is a program of action in the humanitarian and legal fields. Moreover, the various facets of this immense topic are logically interlinked by such an important element as the primacy of the values that are common to all mankind over all others.

The Soviet leader, speaking on behalf of Soviet people, addressed the whole international community. The way in which he was listened to and understood proves in the best way of all that the world is starting to believe in the sincerity of our intentions and in our firm will to pursue to the end the gigantic process of renewing this gigantic country.

Of course, that speech was also an event for the internal development of our country. In many respects it showed for the first time how we imagine the new political system in our country and how highly serious issues of the administration of law and human rights will be solved. Moreover, the bar was sent even higher: We are talking about the very highest standards of people's power. From this point of view our restructuring has received a new impetus.

It is important to emphasize that it is precisely from our country that the call has come to restructure international relations on the principles of law and not force. This means that laws of morals and morality common to all mankind must be placed in the foundation.

Asserting the concept of humanity, Mikhail Gorbachev's speech extends it first and foremost to our own practical life. There is just one specific fact: People are no longer convicted for their political and religious convictions in places of confinement in the USSR. Can many countries say this? The situation is improving virtually in all areas concerning the rights of the individual in our country, although this is not happening as quickly as one would like. We are not closing our eyes, either, to the problems we encounter in observing international agreements on human rights. Mikhail Gorbachev's speech calls for bringing our internal legislation in line with international obligations.

There is one criteria here: It is above all the Soviet person and our restructuring that needs strict and full guarantees of rights and freedoms.

Right after Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations there occurred a whole number of events that were probably accelerated by this speech. Take the general European meeting that has just ended in Vienna. Its final document is rich in positive consequences, according to new parameters, and not just for Europe. Among these is noticable progress in the field of humanitarian cooperation. One of the greatest landmarks along this path will be the conference on human rights which is due to be held in Moscow in 1991.

Falin Reviews Foreign Policy, Reform, FRG Ties
AU2401184189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 Jan 89 p 6

[Manfred Schell report: "Falin: We Are Ready To Make Profound Changes"]

[Text] After his latest talks with the FRG Government, Valentin Falin, director of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an optimistic assessment of the further development of relations between Moscow and Bonn. In an interview with DIE WELT, Falin said that he sees chances for a "new climate" between Moscow and Bonn and that all efforts center on "predictability" in the relations, "predictability in both directions." Falin: "You should be sure that we are your good, reliable partners and that this is the basis on which you can build your policy."

Falin confirmed that General Secretary Gorbachev's state visit will take place during the first half of this year. "The exact date is currently being discussed at the diplomatic level." Falin: "We think that the preconditions for a visit have already matured, and both sides are doing intensive practical preparatory work." Moscow considers Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow and Gorbachev's state visit on the Rhine "parts of the whole." In addition, it is necessary "to take into account important changes in the international scene—in your country and in ours." Falin said that he means the positive development in the sphere of regional conflicts, the good development at the CSCE meeting in Vienna, and the "positive development in implementing what we agreed on with the Americans." All this has "its own weight." Asked whether the announcement that a "new page" can be turned in the history of relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, were not a bit exaggerated, Falin answered: "I would go even further. It can also be a new chapter. This depends on the readiness of the German side. We are ready to accept a high speed in the development, to make very profound changes for the better in practically all fields. This applies not only to bilateral relations, but to the East-West relationship as a whole."

Falin: "Time urges the elimination of military opposition, military confrontation. The means that are currently spent to a great extent on defense should be made available to the environment and to the development of the economy and culture."

What does Moscow understand by talking about a "new climate" in relations with Bonn? Falin: "Sometimes it is very easy to say yes or no. We have to learn to think and act systematically; we have to try to understand why it is precisely that this happens and not that. Then we will be able to spare some negatives and to formulate some affirmatives in a broader sense. We have to change our political thinking." Economic cooperation is taking an important position in this respect. Falin: "Yes, I understand, you have an intact, well-functioning economy. You are well off or relatively well off, even though you also have problems. You are not so much forced by events to look for new partners. But ask yourselves: To what extent is it in the interests of your country for one-third of the world to be practically excluded from the sphere of your economic interests?" If one understands this and reacts correspondingly, a "new quality" develops in this field, too. Falin: "The closer, the firmer, the more developed our two economies and the more interwoven their structures, the fewer the chances that one will tend to run amok in politics."

What Does Moscow Expect of the New U.S. President?

Falin expects the good "overall political situation" to continue under new U.S. President Bush. "I want to proceed from this premise." He thinks that "for the first time in history we face a situation in which continuity is stressed, in which objective preconditions for continuity" in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States exist. However, there are also "new tones" to be heard to the effect that the new administration in Washington "aims at a new policy, that some views of the old president are not those of the new administration, at least not as regards emphasis in politics." Falin points out that sometimes, however, "emphasis is more important than the basic tones." For him one thing is certain: "The new administration will not be less capable than the previous one. The new administration seems to be less prone to ideological dangers than the previous one." Falin praised former President Reagan. During his term of office he "put a very great distance behind him in his political development" and he personally contributed to the fact that, in the end, over the past 2 years, the "world has been breathing more freely." Concerning Moscow's present relationship with Washington, the Soviet Union is "ready to eliminate nuclear weapons globally long before the end of the century. We are willing to free Europe of nuclear weapons. This remains our position. We are ready for this and have already taken steps to reduce military potentials in the conventional and the nuclear fields in Europe to such a low level that wars of aggression become materially impossible in Europe."

What About Akhromeyev?

There have been various speculations about former Moscow Chief of the General Staff Akhromeyev. Resignation as a protest against Gorbachev's disarmament initiatives was also mentioned. Falin denies these speculations, saying "there is no reason" for them. Falin: "The man has lived a hard life. When he left Leningrad in 1942, he weighed 47 kg. He finished the war as a captain, and later he was subjected to great strains as first deputy chief of the General Staff and then as chief of the General Staff. He has had health problems since the war." Some time ago, Akhromeyev personally told him, Falin, that he wanted to make room for a younger man. Falin: "The proof of this is Akhromeyev's current function. He is present at all important talks in the party, and he is a member of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Central Committee." There is "also no reason" to deduce from the change at the head of the General Staff that the military is "against today's development." He thinks, in any case, that the "political role" of the Red Army troops is "strongly overestimated." The military is "not that strongly involved" in formulating and making political decisions.

Who Is Responsible for the Wall?

In the overall political development, Falin says, "irreversible" successes can already be noted, but some people think that the development is too fast or too slow. One has to be realistic, it is impossible to skip stages in this development. Patience is also necessary. "The way will not be as smooth as your highways. One cannot exclude icy roads from time to time, either. This means, we have to keep the motto 'Be fair' in mind. Not all people drive as well as you."

Politburo member Yakovlev said that the Berlin Wall is not a Soviet building. Does this mean a distancing from the Wall? Falin answers as follows: "I think that this is to be understood in the way Gorbachev once said: 'Before this Wall was erected, another wall existed for a long time, a wall of hatred.'" This wall is "much more difficult to remove than the wall of stone that we see today and that neither you nor we like very much." However, this wall would never have been built without Soviet approval. It could not exist today without Moscow's consent. Falin answers that he is a "firm follower of historical facts, and the fact is: This decision was made by the GDR at the clear request of its allies in the Warsaw Pact. This was the situation in 1961. This means that at that time we supported the GDR in its measures to defend itself and to protect the interests of the entire socialist community, and we understand why the GDR thinks the time for qualitative changes has not yet come." Falin: "When this time comes depends on both of us. I think that in other parts of the world, too, there exist various walls from past epochs, which do not disturb people as much as this wall. Let us make sure on both sides that this will be the case with this wall, too."

Is the Course of Reform Reversible?

Had the Soviet leadership thought about the end when it started the reform course under the catchwords of perestroyka and glasnost? Falin answers this question in his way: Thinking about the end would mean "that society does not have any prospects, at least no long-term prospects." What "we intend to do is establish a democratic society." This task—"teaching" the people a "cultural democracy, democratic rules, and democratic traditions"—cannot be fulfilled within a few years but only over several generations. In this connection, one also has to take into account the dynamism of developments. "I think that things we consider sufficient today will be considered underdeveloped tomorrow. The same goes for social justice, the country's standard of living, for standards which we proclaim as optimal because of technical and other criteria." Falin agreed with the assessment that the success or failure of the reform course essentially depends on whether the high expectations of the people can be fulfilled. Falin noted that this does not only apply to the "material side." "What have we already achieved during the period of restructuring? We have established a new, moral climate in our country. No matter what happens in the future, this is irreversible. We have freed the people's intellectual powers. Chasing them back into the bottle, as one says, is impossible today, and it will also be impossible tomorrow and the day after. This new quality of thinking is a factor which determines the further development in the country."

Some things that turn up as problems at present are not results of restructuring but already existed in the past. This applies to the ethnic conflicts with their partly "historical reminiscences"; these eruptions are also "linked with some economic conditions." There are "grievances" in some republics and the inability of previous local leaderships "to come to terms with these grievances because corruption also found its way to the top." Is this why an example was made of Brezhnev's son-in-law Yuriy Churbanov? Falin: "This was a criminal matter. He exploited the time and the situation to get various benefits for himself and his friends and relatives out of his former function. Politically, this man was completely unimportant. It is a pity that General Secretary Brezhnev tolerated such a man in his circle. However, we have to take into consideration that Brezhnev was very ill after 1975...."

What Has Moscow Learned From Afghanistan?

What about the question of power in the Politburo? Falin says that the assessment is "correct" that there is no "conflict of goals" in the Politburo as regards the development in the Soviet Union, but there are quarrels about the path to be followed. There are also "nuances" in the Supreme Soviet which play a role. "One should harmonize the path and the goal and not only the direction of this path but also the speed." Here, one has to make the "right choice" and "in this connection there are very lively quarrels, and it is good that there are quarrels. It would be very dangerous if everyone agreed with everything. Progress has been made only due to the fact that there is an opposition within every man, in his soul, who quarrels with himself." The speed of the developments poses difficulties for some people in the party. "For parts of the party it is too fast—this applies to parts of the economic structures of the country. For others it is too slow."

Is the government under Najibullah, which is supported by Moscow, in the danger of falling? What has Moscow learned from Afghanistan? Concerning the fate of Najibullah's government, "we all want to wait," Falin says. There are "various prognoses, various expectations" in this respect. There are also "various efforts for concepts." Falin: "I think that it would be of benefit to the Afghan people if Najibullah's concept of national pacification could be implemented after all, but in the East rules are different than in the West." Falin: "What we have learned from history? The following thesis was confirmed: Today one cannot solve national and political questions by force. This was clear to many people from the beginning. I think that today it is clear to everyone. The second lesson: One should be very careful of suddenly overtasking a society, which in Afghanistan basically is still rooted in the 16th century. This was wishful thinking in this case. Development needs time. And third: One cannot bring happiness to a people against its will. If the people do not accept something, we should leave these people to their own fate."

East-West Rights Conference Held in Moscow

PM2001142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On Humanitarian Questions"]

[Text] A session of the Executive Council of the international public organization "East-West Conference on Human Rights" was held in Moscow 15-16 January at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

This organization's activity commenced at its first session in De Burcht (Holland) in January 1988. At that time prominent public figures, politicians, jurists, parliamentarians, and scientists from 13 European and North American countries held a broad debate covering the whole range of human rights, reached agreement on questions of principle with regard to realizing the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and adopted a decision to continue international cooperation on humanitarian questions.

Participating in the Executive Council session in Moscow were, in particular, V. Giscard d'Estaing, former president of France, and his wife A.A. Giscard d'Estaing; P. Cormack, member of the House of Commons (Britain); and E. van Eegen, leader of the Center for

European Studies (Netherlands). The prominent public figure R. Carter read a message of greetings to the Executive Council from her husband, former U.S. President J. Carter.

The attention of the session participants centered on the position of national minorities and interethnic relations in various countries and questions of ensuring freedom of conscience.

Members of the Executive Council agreed to hold an international conference on these problems in the United States next September.

The organization's leaders hailed the positive conclusion of the Vienna meeting of participant states in the Helsinki process and agreed to focus their attention on formulating the public's positions on the questions which will be on the agenda at the human rights conferences planned by the Vienna meeting in Paris (1989), Copenhagen (1990), and Moscow (1991).

Forum's Purpose Discussed

PM1901130189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Ernst Van Eegen, founder of the De Burght East-West Conference on Human Rights, and Prof F. Burlatskiy, cochairman of the conference, by A. Ostalskiy under the rubric "Dialogue": "Two Views of Human Rights Are Moving Closer Together"; interview conducted 16 January in Moscow; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] "A thirst for peace, a thirst for justice"—that is what Ernst Van Eegen believes unites the participants in the De Burght Conference, a movement also known as the East-West Human Rights Conference. About 2 years ago Van Eegen—an active member of the antifascist resistance during World War II and now a big businessman and public figure who is widely known in the West—proposed to the Soviet public a direct dialogue on one of the most sensitive questions of bilateral relations: human rights. His initiative was supported by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Soviet Peace Fund, and January of last year the settlement of De Burght near The Hague saw the first conference, which founded a new international public movement that now includes former U.S. President J. Carter and his wife Rosalynn, British Member of Parliament P. Cormack, U.S. Congressman (Dzh.) [initial as transliterated] Buchanan, political scientists, priests, and public figures. Since the meeting in The Hague, the Conference Executive Committee has held a session in Atlanta (United States), and another session, in which former French President V. Giscard d'Estaing took part, ended 16 January in Moscow. After the session Ernst Van Eegen and Prof F. Burlatskiy, cochairman of the De Burght Conference, talked with our correspondent.

[Ostalskiy] Why are human rights still such a complex problem in East-West relations?

Ernst Van Eegen: We in the West for many years concentrated on political and civil rights and freedoms and sought the release of prisoners of conscience in the USSR because, as far as we are concerned, religious, spiritual freedom is one of the main and most important freedoms. Your side insisted on the primacy of social and economic rights. All attempts at dialogue ended in failure, since they were like a dialogue of the deaf. Only at the meeting in The Hague a year ago did we begin to hear what each other was saying. This, of course, became possible thanks to restructuring and Gorbachev's policy. We believe that your government is fully determined to get rid of the problem of prisoners of conscience and political prisoners at last.

F. Burlatskiy: We and the West had a serious basis for disagreement. A certain democratic tradition had existed in Russia, but a liberal tradition of respect for individual rights and freedoms, of protection of the individual from the state, and of individual autonomy in which the government does not dare intervene, such a tradition is only now beginning to emerge. We—the Public Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights under the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation—have asked the Supreme Soviet Presidium to incorporate a special section entitled "Declaration of Human Rights and Citizen's Rights" in the USSR Constitution.

[Ostalskiy] Let's get back to your session in Moscow and the De Burght Conference. To be honest, people are tired of sessions and discussions, congresses and conferences. How can you prove the practical utility of your movement?

Ernst Van Eegen: We in the West have very intensive contacts with one another across state borders. We have many personal friends in other countries. But we had nothing but official contacts with you for decades when great disappointments befell us. Conferences such as ours are absolutely necessary. Otherwise, how are we going to communicate and find a common language providing a basis for mutual understanding?

F. Burlatskiy: We are all more accustomed to thinking of the immediate specific results of our contacts with the West. Especially economic agreements, but are the psychological results and the mindset of the people's masses less important? It is hard to overestimate what the public of West and East have done in recent years to overcome the barriers that divide us. Our movement was one of the first to tackle the human rights problem, not from the standpoint of confrontation and mutual recriminations, but from a standpoint of mutual trust and assistance. Each of us has begun to speak more about problems in his own country rather than in someone else's. We have stopped seeking the motes in other people's eyes while ignoring the beam in our own. Upon returning from the

conference, each delegation described the results in its parliament and we briefed the governments on mutual complaints and attempted to settle them. For instance, after our first conference we petitioned the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to release persons imprisoned in our country as a rule for trivial violations of the existing statutes on religious activity. The petition met with a positive response.

Ernst Van Eegen: For us the very nature of the discussion, without mutual recriminations and in a constructive spirit, was a sensation and a great success. The Netherlands foreign minister was astonished and said he had never seen a conference like ours. So far as I am aware, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz also made a very high assessment of our work. It has to be admitted that human rights are not only freedom of conscience and civil rights, but also the protection of the individual from violence, alcoholism, drug addiction, and prostitution. In this area the West is lagging behind the East. In the West these problems are much further advanced than in your country and, in addition, it seems to me that the Soviet Union is implementing a more consistent and firmer course in this regard. The main thing is that we now have the opportunity to formulate common approaches to common problems and to learn from one another's solutions.

[Ostalskiy] How influential is your movement? I see many "retirees" on the list of participants in the present Executive Council session. In our country politicians usually lose their influence once they retire....

Ernst Van Eegen: In the West that is not so. For instance, Jimmy Carter and his wife are still very influential. As soon as any major event happens in the world, especially when it is connected with human rights problems, you will see journalists rush to interview him. Giscard d'Estaing remains an influential major figure in French and international politics. Moreover, there are well-known religious figures, parliamentary deputies, and so forth among us. On the Soviet side USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev, for instance, takes part in our work, and at the last session he delivered a brilliant report on the topic "The Compliance of National Legislation on Humanitarian Questions and Human Rights With the Norms of International Law, the Helsinki Conference Final Act, and Other Documents." Members of the Executive Committee made a very high assessment of the report.

F. Burlatskiy: Our meeting today and the upcoming conference in Atlanta (United States) must make their contribution to preparing the major international conference on human rights that, as is well-known, is to be held in Moscow in 1991.

This was the task that Rosalynn Carter, our movement's chairperson, and Valery Giscard d'Estaing stressed as the most important one. At the same time they expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the Vienna meeting of states participating in the all-European process.

[Ostalskiy] You are portraying your conference in an extremely rosy light. Do you have no problems, is there no mutual criticism?

Ernst Van Eegen: No, we still criticize each other. But from a constructive, friendly standpoint. In my view, such criticism is very useful. And increasing efforts are channeled into exchanging experience. It has to be said that the Soviet Union has already done a very great deal in the human rights sphere. But there are obscurities in the remaining cases. I myself know of one person who is ranked as a prisoner of conscience in the West but who, according to Soviet information, is serving a jail term for a purely criminal offense.

F. Burlatskiy: On this occasion too our Western colleagues handed us a list of specific instances of human rights violations existing in our country, according to their information. We will ask the authorities to investigate each of them and to provide explanations.

[Ostalskiy] What tasks did you want to resolve at the Moscow meeting?

F. Burlatskiy: We began preparing for the conference to be held in Atlanta this September. It will be devoted largely to nationalities problems and the rights of national minorities. We have plenty to discuss—Northern Ireland, the problems of foreign workers in France, the "latent Jewish problem" in the FRG, and the conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis over Nagornyy Karabakh.

All over the world there is an astonishing surge of national feelings and exacerbation of nationalities problems and conflicts.

Ernst Van Eegen: There are objective reasons for this. Take Africa and Asia. Nationalities problems there began to deteriorate after the collapse of the British colonial empire. It had kept the lid tightly screwed down on national feelings. And when the lid was loosened, when the conditions emerged for national self-expression, things began to happen. And in many cases the growth of national feelings takes the form of an extremely fierce struggle, as in India, for instance.

F. Burlatskiy: There are common reasons for the exacerbation of nationalities problems, and there are reasons peculiar to each instance. In conditions of international integration and the technological and information revolution, the threat that small nations will lose their national and cultural identity is intensifying. So the desire to escape assimilation is intensifying. But there are also specific reasons in each case. For instance, in Britain it is a matter of the religious factor. And in the USSR it is a matter of historically rooted problems of relations between nations and ethnic groups. Nationalities problems surface when the conditions emerge for national self-expression, in periods of the democratization of society. They were suppressed during the periods

of Stalinism and stagnation. Steam had been building up for a long time in our country, and when the lid was lifted what poured out was not only legitimate national interests but also nationalist ambitions.

Ernst Van Eegen: I am a Christian, and one of the most important postulates of the Christian faith is that we are all brothers regardless of the color of our skin. Brothers may not resemble one another, they may be different, but all the same they have far more in common than they have dividing them. Christ taught us to love our neighbor as ourselves. Why is this postulate not observed in practice? Why are disagreements based on nationality intensifying? I think that we sometimes have to travel through deep ravines and depressions in order to reach the heights. Christianity has existed in Europe for 2,000 years now. How much bloodshed, hatred, and war there has been in this time! But nevertheless, look at what we have achieved. For military coercion is simply impossible in West Europe now. We have many disputes and disagreements at the interstate level. But if anyone took it into his head to use the threat of military force, he would simply be told to see a psychiatrist.

F. Burlatskiy: But did not the "threat from the East" help you to rally together?

Ernst Van Eegen: Yes, that's right. The "cold war" helped unite Western Europe. But now that Gorbachev is putting forward the concept of the common European home, real prospects for unity and cooperation are opening up. The West's duty today is to help you to organize the economy. We believe in your people, who were able to defeat Hitler's Germany even despite the fact that before this Stalin destroyed almost all your generals.

[Ostalskiy] But there are many opponents of such a course. Publications regularly appear in the West whose authors warn that assistance to restructuring will have the result of strengthening the Soviet Union, and therefore also the threat to the West. In our country voices are sometimes heard expressing fears that the intensification of economic links will make our country overly dependent on the Western states. What can you say about this?

F. Burlatskiy: I think that this is a traditional but profoundly mistaken viewpoint. The entire modern world is enmeshed in a highly complex tissue of mutual economic links. The U.S. deficit in trade with Japan has reached $100 billion. However, this is not causing panic in the United States. It is a perfectly normal phenomenon in the complex system of contemporary international relations. There is no need to fear economic interdependence. Remember that in both the FRG and France there were once fears that the purchase of natural gas from the USSR would make Western Europe dependent on Soviet arbitrariness. However, all these fears proved unfounded. All such fears are the sad legacy of the "cold war," economic primitivism, and fear of modern times.

Ernst Van Eegen: I think that such prejudices against assistance to restructuring exist mainly in the United States, not in Western Europe. In any case, they are weakening. We invited a U.S. politician, a congressman known for holding such "hawkish" views, to one of our conferences. And just imagine, we managed to change his mind on many issues. I am sure that we should debate with such people on a much wider scale. But on the whole Gorbachev and restructuring are very popular in the West, and our public opinion no longer has any doubts about Gorbachev's sincerity. The question is this: Will he be able to achieve what he is seeking to do? I and many others are convinced that restructuring will succeed.

Naval Maneuvers Show French Support for U.S.

PM1701160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "France-United States: Unprecedented Maneuvers"]

[Text] Paris—This must be the first time ever that a French admiral has had command of such a mighty naval armada. A whole flotilla of three aircraft carriers—the "Foch," the "Clemenceau," and the "Theodore Roosevelt"—together with the helicopter carrier "Guadalcanal," and several other warships will be under the command of Vice Admiral Alain Dutoit, maritime prefect of Toulon, during the joint Franco-U.S. maneuvers in the Mediterranean 5-14 February.

France is sending approximately half of its Mediterranean fleet and subunits of the interventionist "rapid action forces" to the "Phinia-89" exercises, which are unprecedented in their scale. According to the weekly L'EXPRESS, Paris is taking part in these maneuvers for three reasons.

First, France wants to play the role of a major military power in the Mediterranean, taking into account the persisting tension in Lebanon. Second, the magazine points out, it wants to show support for the United States, which has recently been encountering strong anti-American sentiment in countries in the region such as Greece and Spain, where Washington has military bases. It is for that reason, L'EXPRESS writes, that since 1987 France, without undue ceremony, has been providing the U.S. 6th Fleet with all the necessary "comforts" in its Mediterranean ports, despite the fact that in April 1986 it refused permission for U.S. aircraft en route to bomb Libya to fly over its territory.

And finally, the weekly concludes, Paris is using the joint maneuvers to stress the U.S. Navy's special role in the new conditions when Washington, in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, is removing its nuclear-armed cruise missiles and Pershings from Europe.

Iran's Musavi Meets Jaruzelski in Warsaw

PM2001140889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jan—W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish State Council, today received Iranian Prime Minister M.H. Musavi, who is in Poland on an official visit.

In the course of the talk there was an exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral relations and the main international problems. The need was stressed to raise cooperation between Poland and Iran to a higher level, with particular emphasis on the economic sphere. The two sides pointed to the opportunities that exist in this sphere and noted that the potential of the two countries is not being fully utilized.

The Polish leader expressed satisfaction with the end of hostilities beween Iran and Iraq and reaffirmed Poland's position concerning the need to implement UN Security Council Resolution 598 in full and restore peace in the Persian Gulf region.

The Iranian head of government stressed the significance of Poland's activity in the international arena for the sake of peace and security, including the plan it put forward for reducing arms and strengthening confidence in central Europe.

Foreign Aid to Armenia Quake Victims Continues

Shevardnadze Thanks Austrians

LD2101193889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1115 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Vienna, 21 Jan (TASS)—"The Austrian Village in Armenia"—this headline has been appearing frequently on the pages of one of Austria's major newspapers the KURIER. [passage omitted]

Eduard A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, received representatives of the newspaper when he was in Vienna for the final sessions of the all-European meeting. He expressed great gratitude to them, assessing the collection of funds to aid the earthquake victims in Armenia as evidence of solidarity and friendship.

Aid Donors, Aid Detailed

LD2201021589 Moscow TASS in English 0132 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Yugoslav working people continue sending their aid to residents of Armenian quake-stricken areas. The personnel of the Sarajevo production amalgamation Energoinvest dispatched a consignment of its goods to that Soviet republic: 10 powerful transformers and 10 transformer substations. Specialists of the well-known Yugoslav maize institute in Zemun-Pole allocated out of their funds 10 tonnes of seed maize grain of high-yielding hybrid variety SK-704. The seed grain will be sent to Yerevan late in January. In the near future the Krusevo factory will ship there two powerful caterpiller tractors, a gift of the factory's work collective.

The Swedish Workers' Communist Party expressed feelings of solidarity with the Armenian people who had lived through the tragedy of the earthquake. Party organisations collected donations to quake victims. Representatives of the party visited the Soviet Embassy on January 21 and handed over more than 100,000 kronas to the aid fund.

"These days we are closely following the reports from Armenia," Rolf Hagel, chairman of the party's board, said at a meeting in the Soviet Embassy in Sweden. The scale of reconstruction work convinces Swedish communists that the destroyed cities will be rebuilt in the next few years, he added. Members of the party regard as their internationalist duty the task of helping to return quicker to normal life to the population of stricken areas, who displayed staunchness and bravery at a time of disaster.

Canada continues collecting donations to the Armenian quake relief fund. The Federation of Russian Canadians donated 30,000 Canadian dollars to the fund. Several organisations in Vancouver, the largest Canadian city on the Pacific, decided to pool their efforts to give financial aid to Soviet Armenia. They include the local branch of the Canadian Communist Party, the Federation of Russian Canadians, the Community of United Ukrainian Canadians, the Canada-USSR Friendship Society, as well as the Society Uniting Finns and Yugoslavs Living in Canada, the United Jewish Popular Society and the editorial staff of the newspaper PACIFIC TRIBUNE. In the near future the donations will be transferred to the Armenian quake relief fund.

The Soviet consul general in Ho Chi Minh City received more than five tonnes of coffee, peanuts and pepper which were bought with donations from residents of the Vietnamese province of Darlac. These tropical products will be dispatched to Armenian population as a gift from Vietnamese people. Up to now Aeroflot planes hauled from Ho Chi Minh City to the Soviet Union more than eight tonnes of cargoes marked "For Armenian population". These are foodstuffs, clothing, medicines and domestic appliances.

Ho Chi Minh residents, organisations and enterprises continue making donations to the Armenian quake relief fund. Reports on donations to this fund are also coming from other provinces of South Vietnam.

Possibility of GATT Membership Reviewed

LD2001143889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Galya Bashirova commentary]

[Text] In a conversation with the representatives of the Trilateral Commission, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev

spoke in particular about the USSR's attitude towards membership in a number of international economic organizations and agreements, including GATT. Candidate of Economics Galya Bashirova is at the microphone.

[Bashirova] I remind you that GATT is a highly representative multilateral agreement. Taking part in its work are 105 countries and organizations. GATT's official aims are: the gradual removal of discrimination in trade, the lowering of customs tariffs, the abolition of quantitative restrictions, and the implementation of trade and political measures with a view to liberalizing international trade.

Up to now, seven tariff conferences, known as rounds, have been held within the framework of GATT. In December of last year, the first half of the latest round, the so-called Uruguay round, was completed. The talks are being held on 14 sectors. Questions of liberalizing trade in agricultural goods and services—including banking, insurance, and tourism—and the protection of intellectual property, patents, authors' rights, and trademarks by the GATT rules are the most complicated.

The fact that the Soviet Union is not a member of GATT, the International Monetary Fund, and a few other international economic organizations, has, of course, its reasons. The arguments against participating in these organizations have, for a long time, outweighed in our political consciousness the arguments in favor of participating. It will perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that they were an extension of the figurative foe, created in the ideology of the administrative-command method in the economy, and of the refusal to recognize the existing interdependence in the politics of international economic relations.

Now, as is known, a great deal has changed in our approach to matters of the past. How are things specifically with GATT?

In 1986, prior to the Uruguay round, the Soviet Union sent a letter to GATT with a request regarding participation in the talks. But this matter was not formally examined and was in fact blocked by the Western powers with the explanation that the economic systems are consistently incompatible, that the independence of economic agents is lacking, and that economically effective customs tariffs are lacking. Hitherto the question of the USSR's possible participation in GATT remains complicated.

Thus, for instance, the other day (?when signing an agreement) on the holding of a conference on economic matters within the framework of the all-European process, it was stressed once again that it is a matter of discussion but not of talks about the USSR's participation in international organizations.

Officials of a number of Western powers, including U.S. President Reagan, have stated more than once that the USSR is not ready for participation in GATT, and as regards restructuring, we must await its concrete results.

It cannot be said that these arguments are entirely groundless. But, first, restructuring must lead to the independence of economic agents—this is in our interests. Second, work has started in our country on erecting a new system of customs tariffs. And, third and perhaps most important, in this matter political will, the wish to see the USSR among the participants of GATT, is of very great importance. So things are up to our partners.

UN Ecology Conference Opens in Nairobi 18 Jan

LD1801223189 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Nairobi January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov:

An international ecology conference opened in the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Headquarters in Kenya on Wednesday [18 January]. The conference will discuss international ecological cooperation.

Representatives of fourteen states, including a Soviet delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, are participating in the conference.

The conference's participants noted in their speeches that the on-going process of real disarmament and the settlement of regional conflicts creates favourable conditions for effective measures on environmental protection. Problems of ecological security are equal in their importance to the struggle for peace and the elimination of nuclear and conventional weapons.

The speakers at the conference stressed the significance of the Soviet leader's U.N. speech, in which he attracted attention to the dangerous ecological situation in a number of regions.

UNEP is studying man's influence on the environment. It has elaborated ozone layer protection measures and is preparing documents, which will regulate production and transportation of hazardous wastes and toxic substances.

"But ecological analysis shows that, in spite of measures taken by UNEP and the world, the situation continues to deteriorate", UNEP Executive Director Mostafa Tolba [name as received] said. The conference will help coordinate environmental protection, he added.

Petrovskiy Attends, Comments

LD2101163589 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Nairobi January 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov:

The Soviet delegation is satisfied with the results of the Nairobi meeting, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who led the delegation, said here.

The meeting, organised by the U.N. Environment Programme (UNEP), considered main areas of international cooperation in solving ecological problems.

Prevention of a global ecologicl disaster objectively is becoming an integral part of the process of building comprehensive security, and environmental protection efforts organically fit into measures to build confidence and strengthen cooperation in all areas, Petrovskiy said.

"The ecological problem is now as acute as never before. If mankind does not take emergency steps to save the environment from the destructive effect of industrial development, civilisation may face its end even if it manages to avoid nuclear catastrophe," he said.

"The discussions here have shown that countries in all regions—north and south, east and west—are interested in the solution of environmental problems.

"Ecological disasters know no national borders, they can be combatted only through joint efforts by the entire international community. A global strategy for environmental protection can be developed and implemented only on a multilateral basis," Petrovskiy said.

The deputy minister said success of joint efforts in this field can be promoted by enhancing UNEP's role and prestige and making its decisions binding for all U.N. members.

He called for an active search for new approaches and specific programmes for improving UNEP's functioning at the turning-point in world developments.

Speaking about methods of international cooperation, Petrovskiy recalled Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal on setting up an emergency environmental aid centre.

This centre could analyse and process date received from governments with the view to identifying critical ecological situations, issue early warnings about incidents, and coordinate international efforts to render assistance to countries in preventing and removing the aftermath of ecological catastrophes.

'New Political Thinking' Affecting World Relations

PM2501152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Mirskiy: "UN Speech: Boost for Quest and Action. Sensible Approach. On the Deideologization of Interstate Relations"]

[Text] The formula "there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence" has become an axiom nowadays. But how are we to understand peaceful coexistence? It can be regarded as the quite isolated parallel development of two social systems, each one stewing in its own juice, confined to minimal (mainly economic) contacts with the other, and living by the "don't touch us and we won't touch you" principle. Generally speaking, one could probably live like that—but at a different time. The world is not like that now; you can't get by without resolving—jointly at that—the mass of problems that are now described as global.

It is impossible to understand the essence of the new political thinking without taking into consideration two characteristics of our era: On one hand, the world's growing diversity, the variety and multifaceted nature of the forms of development chosen by its component parts, and the equality of these parts, and on the other, the ever-increasing unity, interconnectedness, and interdependence of this world. Both these characteristics are dialectically linked and logically intertwine and interact. There is a multitude of interests and ideological trends but there is also common interest: a system of life on our planet that has enabled all the peoples to develop on their chosen path without sacrificing their values, without permitting wars and ecological catastrophes, hunger, sickness, and all manifestations of evil and degradation in general, that know no state boundaries, like drug addiction or international terrorism.

This also applies to the organization of broad, mutually advantageous, and equitable cooperation among the peoples; to the scientific and technical revolution, which may be said to be "the same for everyone" and whose achievements must be borrowed from one another; the problem of the environment—you can't partition off air and water with state borders and can you really look on indifferently as your ideological adversary's natural world dies; the problem of overcoming the "underdevelopment"—hunger, disease, and illiteracy—of many hundreds of millions of people, since the accumulation of wealth at one end of the scale and poverty at the other is fraught with most grave consequences for mankind as a whole; and, last and most important, the arms race and the threat of nuclear destruction for the entire human race—you can't remove this threat by hiding yourself away behind your borders and pushing aside others who also possess these dreadful weapons.

But what kind of cooperation could there be if each of the ideologically opposing sides first tracked down the other's weak spots in an endeavor to extend its customs and outlook over the planet by force? That is why the two spheres must be separated—into the class struggle, notably ideological struggle, and relations between states.

Speaking at the United Nations 7 December 1988, M.S. Gorbachev stated: "The deideologization of interstate relations has become a requirement of the new phase. We are not abandoning our convictions, our philosophy, and our traditions, and we are not urging anyone to abandon theirs." Speaking of an "honest struggle between ideologies," the leader of our party and country pointed out that "this struggle must not be carried over to relations between states." The ideological tenets and social goals of the two opposing sides are contradictory and incompatible. Each one stands its ground and will continue to do so, proving the advantages of its system, way of life, and values not merely through words and propaganda but through real actions in various spheres, including the international sphere. But this struggle must not be carried over to relations between states. There is no contradiction here. For the concept of "international relations" is broader than interstate relations. The second is only part of the first. It is clear that there can be no deideologization of international relations, which also include—in addition to interstate relations—relations between social and political movements, trends, parties, and so on. All this must not be "freed of ideology." Special ties based on ideological commonality will always exist between particular components in the international communist and worker's movement, between them and the states of the socialist community, between the latter and socialist countries in the Third World. People, classes, parties, and states must not be prohibited from experiencing sympathy for forces near or dear to them and helping them.

At the same time there is a certain degree of incomprehension here and, moreover, absurd accusations that we have given up our socialist stance and abandoned class approaches and the interests of the national liberation movement. The author of these lines recently visited Argentina and heard the following opinion from a local political specialist: "Some people in our country assume that Moscow is turning its back on the Third World." But he added right away: "In my opinion, everything is the other way round. People used to have the idea that you and the Americans had divided the world into two halves and mainly watched one another as the two superpowers. The others played a secondary role, as it were. But now that the Soviet leader has proclaimed the thesis of the diversity and interdependence of the world, Third World countries are coming to the fore as equitable partners. I believe that the significance of the Third World is increasing for you." This train of thought seemed extremely logical to me.

What is now impeding affirmation of the principle of deideologization of interstate relations, if we take the aspect of social psychology? Obviously, above all, the stereotypes that have accumulated on both sides reflect deep-seated unfriendly and, in many respects, distorted ideas of one another. I must point out here that these ideas did not arise by accident out of nothing. The fact that they were roused and fanned artificially is another matter, but their actual emergence is historically explicable.

The West spent decades creating and cultivating the image of the Soviet Union as a totalitarian and despotic power. The fear of Bolshevism that the Western bourgeoisie experienced after October, during the period of revolutionary turmoil in Europe, was the prime source of this phenomenon. This fear subsequently began to weaken, but it never disappeared completely. The distortions of socialism during the Stalinist period provided very abundant food for the enemies of the Soviet state. Some postwar events (the "Berlin blockade," the Korean War, the Caribbean crisis, the situations in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and, last, the war in Afghanistan) were used as logs to be thrown on the constant fire of the anti-Soviet campaign and enabled hostile propaganda to use (often in a distorted and biased spirit) the USSR's foreign policy acts to create the quite clear anti-Soviet ideological concept of the "Soviet threat" "to the free world." This concept also became the ideological justification for the creation of NATO and other military blocs, the unleashing of the unprecedented arms race, and the emergence of the theories of "deterrence" and later of "rolling back" communism and so on.

The beginning of the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society and the affirmation of glasnost in our country have dealt anti-Sovietism a very grave and, hopefully, irreparable blow, and has begun to dispel the fear and suspicion that were cultivated with tremendous force and intensity over decades. The preconditions for eroding the image of the "Soviet enemy" are being created for the first time.

Many stereotypes have also accumulated on our side. If we imagine the traditional outline of our propaganda in a somewhat simplified fashion, the picture looks like this: Capitalism is not only a social system that is opposed to us in terms of its principles, values, and tenets, but also an irreconcilable enemy, which cannot by nature avoid wars and aggression. Imperialism is striving for world domination, and the world of socialism stands in its way and must, from the Western viewpoint, consequently be destroyed. On the other hand, capitalism was treated as a putrefying, dying system, and it was claimed, moreover, that the end was not far off. All this was wholly embedded in the mass consciousness that had taken shape in conditions of capitalist encirclement and hard struggle for the survival of the world's first socialist state. The idea that it is only "them" and "us" in the world and that the struggle must be resolved solely on the basis of the uncompromising principle of "Who will win?" has taken shape since then.

These ideas have partially begun to be eroded of their own accord: It was difficult to convince a man who visited the United States or Japan that he was seeing the putrefaction and death of capitalism there. It is clear that the process of replacing social formations will occur over a broader timeframe than previously supposed. Capitalism has proven quite lusty and has managed to turn the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution to its advantage, with no expectation of meeting an untimely end.

One could raise the question: Does capitalism really need wars, aggression, and militarism in our era when any war may be the prologue to nuclear annihilation—something that capitalists know? Can the owners of large corporations and big business magnates really not exist without endeavoring with all their might to destroy world socialism?

It would, indisputably, be better for capitalists if there were no alternative socialist model for a social system on the planet. The word "socialism" is, indisputably, anathema to them. They won't accept the idea of Marxism, and you can hardly reeducate them. But if they see for themselves that, on the one hand, socialism in its state form cannot be destroyed in our nuclear age without their own destruction and, on the other, they see our readiness to coexist and for peaceful rivalry between the two systems, why should we suppose that sober-minded people in the world of capital will dismiss the reasonable option?

Ronald Reagan's political evolution is extremely instructive in this respect. After starting with the thesis of the "evil empire," he ended his Presidency on a realistic note. What brought about such a metamorphosis in the U.S. President's views? His reconciliation is by no means with socialism as an ideology. But, a conviction took shape in the course of his meetings with M.S. Gorbachev that the new Soviet leadership adheres in earnest to the concept of the new political thinking it has put forward, and that it has embarked in earnest on a nonconfrontational course. Notwithstanding all his conservatism, Reagan could not fail to take into consideration the fact that a large stock of goodwill and sympathy toward the Soviet Union (the "new"—in their eyes—and "restructured" Soviet Union) had been uncovered in U.S. society. That is also why a radical change in East-West relations became possible.

That is the main link in the process, and others are following in its wake. Is it coincidence that new winds have begun to blow practically everywhere in the Third World? Can it be mere coincidence that at a time when Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan and real prospects for a compromise in the embittered conflict are emerging, a departure from strong-arm methods of settling regional conflicts has begun to be manifest in the most varied corners of Asia and Africa? An agreement has been concluded settling the problems of South-West Africa. The RSA and Cuba—states diametrically opposed in terms of their ideological and political foundations—have agreed to reciprocally withdraw their troops from the conflict zones. It seems that the process of solving the Cambodian problem has gotten moving. A sensible approach is being manifested in relations between those irreconcilable enemies of yesteryear—Ethiopia and Somalia, Libya and Chad, Morocco and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia El Hamra and Rio de Oro [Polisario].

It is curious to note that in all these situations none of the sides was defeated and deprived of the chance of continuing the struggle, but the principle of compromising and abandoning strong-arm methods and unrestrained confrontation under the slogan "We alone are right. Truth and justice are on our side alone. There can be no talking with the enemy." was victorious. Everyone who embarked on a dialogue with the opposing side was still convinced of the correctness of their ideas, but this did not prevent mutual consent to entering into negotiations. The "spirit of the time" and the influence of the general thaw in the international climate are, indisputably, noticeable in all the aforementioned events.

The concept of the new political thinking proclaimed in the USSR, a component of which is the principle of deideologizing interstate relations, is proving its vitality and beginning to be organically woven into the fabric of world politics.

Impact of Foreign Policy Changes Viewed

PM1801144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Crossing the River, or How to Reach the Shore of Non-Hostility; Third Anniversary of the Soviet Program for a Nonnuclear World"]

[Text] This is a good time to take a retrospective look at one of the early landmarks of the restructuring epoch. It is 3 years since, on 15 January 1986 in a statement made by M.S. Gorbachev, the leadership proposed the program to completely eliminate nuclear weapons before the end of the 20th century.

This was a kind of three-stage route to a nonnuclear world. In the first stage, taking 5-8 years, it was proposed to halve strategic Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms, and also eliminate completely intermediate-range missiles in Europe. In the second, beginning no later than 1990 and taking 5-7 years, the remaining nuclear powers would join in, starting by undertaking to freeze their nuclear arms. The third stage, from 1995 through 2000, would see the final elimination of nuclear arsenals, allowing mankind to enter the new century without the apocalyptic nightmares which have accompanied the second half of this century.

This was the strategic substance of the program announced, which in addition excluded the very vital threat of those days—the transfer of the arms race to space. At the same time, the tasks were set of completely banning nuclear tests, eliminating chemical weapons before the end of the century, and—in general terms—securing agreed reductions in conventional arms and armed forces in the East and West. The principle of disarmament for development—in place of the militarist principle of armament instead of development—was aimed at the developing countries.

The statement was published a few weeks before the manifesto of the new thinking at the 27th CPSU Congress. Now, 3 years on, it can be seen as a sketch of the USSR's new foreign policy in broad outline, a pointer to the way out of the confrontation which had intensified in the late seventies and early eighties (the culmination was Afghanistan and the dispute over intermediate-range missiles in Europe).

From our own rich experience we know that even strict planning and leadership from one center by no means ensures the fulfillment of these or other plans and programs. On the planetary scale there is no Gosplan, no higher authority at all. International life is a little like the eternal construction of the Tower of Babel, its participants talking in umpteen different languages and more often misunderstanding than understanding one another. So, the Soviet plan for a nonnuclear world came up for examination by the court of world opinion, and moreover, every nuclear power had the right to give its verdict and even veto it. From the very beginning it was a question not of some rigorous fulfillment of Kremlin "plans" but of getting a reasonable return, of acheiving an effect which would push the development of world events in the necessary direction. The authors of the program seem to have been aware of this when they defined as its purpose: "to promote improvement of the international situation to the maximum degree."

What have we achieved to date, if we compare what we intended with what has been done and what is under way or in preparation? During the rest of the planned first stage it will scarcely be possible to actually halve Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear arms, but the corresponding treaty, which is already on the table at the Geneva talks in draft form, will most probably have been drawn up, signed, and entered into force.

Britain, France, and China are hardly going to join in the process of nuclear disarmament next year, as planned, but the Soviet Union and the United States are already eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in conditions of the kind of penetrative on-site inspection which dispels their distrust of one another.

Thanks to the same unprecedented readiness for effective on-site verification methods, the prospect of a complete ban on nuclear tests by the two powers becomes perfectly realistic.

The latest news from Paris increases the hope that chemical weapons can really be eliminated before the end of the century. Without waiting for an international agreement, the Soviet Union will start to eliminate its supplies this year.

The latest news from Vienna promises that talks will soon begin on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons—a much more substantial reduction than the 15 January statement envisaged, not only in central Europe, but throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The first peaceful salvo in this historically important campaign to reduce military confrontation has already been fired by the Soviet Union. It took the form of the unilateral measures, announced in New York by M.S. Gorbachev, to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces.

The Soviet Union did not include human rights in the international agenda 3 years ago. Now in Vienna, and not only there, we have advanced a long way on this question, and the Western states, acknowledging our moves and achievements, made a reciprocal move toward us by agreeing that an international conference on humanitarian questions be held in Moscow in 1991.

But the main symbolic question put by the 15 January statement was: Are we to enter the new century and the new millenium without nuclear weapons? The answer still remains only a hope.

The hope is that confidence between yesterday's antagonists will acquire qualitatively new characteristics that will persuade the West to reject the strategy of nuclear containment [sderzhivaniye] or nuclear deterrence [ustrasheniye]. "I personally think that the principle of nuclear deterrence will probably not be permanent, as we believed," George Shultz stated a few days ago. "I feel that in 20 years it will be replaced by something else." Comforting words, although the timeframe does not coincide with the one proposed by Moscow. It should however be specified that in his thoughts and feelings the retiring secretary of state is anticipating most of the U.S. establishment—could it be because he associated more often with the new type of Soviet leaders?

The world is now changing rapidly. And this gives hope of the emergence of a common, human awareness that will suddenly accomplish the psychologically inconceivable feat, in relation to the ultra-deadly power of the split atom, of undiscovering the discovery, and will realize the dream expressed in everyday life and in common parlance by the exclamation: "Back to the womb!"

For all that, a nonnuclear world is not an end in itself, and it is not synonymous with a secure world. The main point is to make progress toward a secure world, and the path may be broader, more unexpected, more roundabout, so to speak. Someone crossing by boat to the opposite bank of a river picks himself a marker and rows toward it. But the river (like international life) has a strong and treacherous current. It carries the boat away.

Despite all his efforts, the rower lands further downstream. Should he be upset that he did not reach the marker? Or should he be glad that he managed to get across all the same, that he reached the other bank?

Hasty conclusions are dangerous, but it seems that in recent years the world has already reached the other, safer bank and would like to consolidate there in the expanding bridgehead of dialogue and cooperation.

We are on the other bank, where we find our partners in the West much more willing to cooperate with us. And the same is true in the East too, if we take into account the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations which is under way and the shifts, albeit still insufficient, in relations with Japan, and if we consider the attenuation of regional conflicts over the past year.

On the other bank—have you noticed?—we have stopped having nuclear nightmares, although the terrible weapons are still there. On the other bank the Americans, or for instance the West Germans, are no longer blinded by the white light of the threat of Soviet expansionism, nor we by American imperialism, although the division of the world and the quite profound differences in it have not disappeared. It is as though yesterday's enemies are standing in their old places but have lost their old image—the enemy image. It is an image that grows in the consciousness when someone is just about to attack, when the hand is raised, ready to strike. But who wants to attack who, if we consider the present-day situation and its reflection in the mass consciousness? Who is raising his hand? Who is in the acute phase of protracted postwar confrontation with us, which threatens armed conflict? The clouds are dispersing and are scattering detente! Although, this key word of the 1970's already seems inadequate to us. There is something temporary about it, and we dream of something permanent—about another world on the opposite bank. We are proclaiming the supremacy of the common human idea over innumerable centrifugal forces.

This supremacy, as it ought to be, is unexpectedly embodied in individuals, in the behavior of statesmen. Even Franz Josef Strauss, our long-standing Bavarian critic who never had any respite from our sarcastic verbal arrows, saw the light and spoke well of restructuring before his death. It was as though Helmut Kohl, not to mention Hans-Dietrich Genscher, had been substituted after his trip to Moscow. And Ronald Reagan, the first among enemy images! What transformations. Now that we are saying farewell to him, we find ourselves feeling nostalgic. However, one December television scenario reassures us. Remember: On a sunny winter's day at noon, on the porch of the Commandant's House on Governor's Island in New York Harbor, Reagan went out to meet Gorbachev, and somehow a third person—George Bush—appeared next to him, unnoticed and modest. He is the visible manifestation of continuity. That scene is worth a great deal.

In short, we showed them an open face, with visor raised. And then they reciprocated. The law of opposites worked powerfully: between our former and present selves. Between our old and new faces, and our old and new policies. The law of opposites worked and is still working, bringing great benefits. But it is a temporary law. The old is moved aside and forgotten, and the new must be rejuvenated in order to work. They did not turn to us for sentimental reasons, nor just from a sense of gratitude because we changed and became more universally minded [obshchechelovechneye]. The main concern, as always, is the practical interest, in interweaving their practical interest with our restructuring interest. The main concern is the common interest. We gave each other an increased feeling of security and gain.

Take for example, Margaret Thatcher—the "Iron Lady." No, she is still not even following Shultz in rejecting the concept of nuclear deterrence against the Soviet Union. No, she will not be including Britain in nuclear disarmament from next year, as our program planned. She will not give up her personal—in common with the West—strategic aim: sufficient military strength, strength and more strength, as the basis for any successful dialogue with the Soviet Union. But listen to what she says about the Soviet leader. Listen—who will reproach the "Iron Lady" from the British Isles with flattery?

"We are very lucky," Margaret Thatcher said in an ITV television interview, "that such a politician as Gorbachev has emerged—a man of great vision and courage.... If he implements his reforms, the world will become safer, and the cold war, I think, will come to an end...."

Listen a bit more.

Question: Do you think he will succeed in implementing his reforms?

Answer: I am sure that he will never give up. And I believe that he will get his way. This is in the entire world's interest. We must do everything to help, since we are dealing with a people who have never known freedom, who have never known what it is to make independent decisions without being prompted.... They can see how we do it.... We are ready to help with everything. Similarly the United States and certain other countries are ready to act—that's how important it is....

Reader, how do you like such assurances of readiness to help our restructuring? Don't they hurt your self-respect and sense of national pride? Does not this British condescension grate on you? Although, as you see, it is dictated by good intentions and, alas, has some foundation. Whatever it is, Margaret Thatcher is searching for a path to us precisely in this way, and precisely in this way is expressing her understanding of the common interest, her attitude toward the supremacy of the universal human idea.

In my view, this is the main inference and the main result today: Regardless of whether we are nearer or farther along the path to a nonnuclear world, favorable international conditions have been created in recent years to implement our restructuring. This is the enormous achievement of the innovative foreign policy, but above all of the very process of restructuring, of our immersion it it, in resolving its extremely difficult tasks and problems. There is no more convincing proof of the peace-loving nature of the Soviets, and the entire rest of the world is now ready to believe in it. A logical development and deepening of the processes of restructuring will be the reduction of armed forces and the switching of military expenditure to peaceful aims. The first steps in this direction have been taken, further steps remain and, undoubtedly, will stimulate the reduction of military efforts and budgets by other states, primarily the United States, where these questions have been put on the agenda by the huge chronic budget deficits.

I have noted the contrast between the old and the new which is operating overseas on the reputation of the Soviet Union and its present leaders. But one more contrast has been revealed—between the obvious success of our foreign policy and the equally obvious difficulties of economic restructuring within the country. The material of international relations, strange as it may seem, lends itself more easily to changes in the course of the new thinking than our own economic system, which has taken shape over decades, objectively and subjectively opposing the changes and deaf to the needs of our own people. The paradox is that abroad, in any case in politically educated circles, restructuring is perceived less pragmatically than in our lines for goods in short supply.

Since our defects are no longer a secret, sober foreign observers have noticed this paradox. One of them is Bill Bradley, the well-known U.S. Democratic senator.

He writes: "The reforms are essential for the Soviet Union's survival. Brilliant diplomacy and creative foreign policy are of little help to those people who stand at home in lines for food. This is why the new leadership is ready to take a genuine risk.... Reform assumes the necessity of making a difficult choice—rejecting guns in favor of butter, rejecting useless output in favor of efficient production, enforced savings in favor of consumption. The real supporters of the reforms know this."

This is a harsh but basically correct analysis coinciding with what many of us are saying. The senator proposes that the new U.S. President interprets restructuring positively, but not that he "pay" for it with the help of Western credits and subsidies. No, not because he is against such help but because, in his opinion, the Soviet Union, above all for its own benefit, must restructure its own economic life on more rational and efficient grounds, without relying on foreign financial support.

But that is already another matter. Completing my remarks on this 3d anniversary, I would like to repeat the main point: The Soviet Union has largely provided the foreign conditions which are essential in order to deal with internal matters with the least diversion of energy—in the economy, in society, and in the political reform sphere. Our reputation abroad has not been so high for a long time. Now long-term factors are coming into action. Supporting and further raising that reputation will depend increasingly on restructuring's progress at home.

United States & Canada

Article Warns Bush on Slowing Pace in Relations

PM2501145189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Melor Sturua article: "President Bush's First Few Days"]

[Text] George Bush, the new, 41st President of the United States, completed his inaugural journey from the White House to Capitol Hill and back along Pennsylvania Avenue in a limousine which was also new. This miracle of automotive engineering was delivered to the White House literally the day before the solemn ceremony. The black armor-plated Lincoln, almost 7 meters long, cost the exchequer $600,000. It had taken 3 years to build it to meet all Secret Service requirements. In the words of Jerry ter Horst, representative of Ford, which built this "White House on wheels," the limousine is equipped with "all the latest communications equipment which only the President could need."

What will the route of that limousine or, rather, its owner be? That question is now being discussed in all the capitals of the world—in the quiet of government offices and in the hubbub of the mass media. The answers are roughly the same: basically as before, with an adjustment for style; less ideology and show business, more pragmatism and professional routine.

But there is another question to which the answers are far from identical, and which is giving rise to heated quarrels, clashes of opinion, and all kinds of guesswork. The question may be put like this: How fast will the presidential limousine go?

The debate about "speed" relates primarily to foreign policy matters and the range of problems known as national security. On the Potomac two courses have already taken shape which may be characterized as the "brake" and the "accelerator." It is no particular surprise that the conservative journalists Evans and Novak advocate the first course. In an article under the characteristic headline "Slow Down, George!" this journalistic duo, citing Capitol Hill sources, advise the new president to "avoid haste" and make use of the "right to a 6-month moratorium before agreeing to any major step in Soviet-U.S. relations."

It goes without saying that, despite the experience in the previous administration and the months of the transition period, which was at the same time a preparatory period, the new President and his new team need time to come to terms with the corridors of power—this time their own, undivided power. That is quite obvious, and causes no objections. But it is well known that the concept of time is as relative in politics as it is in physics.

What is at issue here? For clarity's sake I am going to cite a quite extensive extract from a THE WASHINGTON POST article by the commentator Oberdorfer. In it he says, among other things: "Staff close to President George Bush expect the first item on the agenda for the new Bush Administration in the sphere of U.S.-Soviet relations to be a high-level analysis of problems affecting armed forces and armaments, which will make it possible to take a fresh look at the U.S. position at arms talks between the superpowers." Brent Scowcroft, the President's new national security adviser, has insisted on a policy review and has been publicly supported by Bush himself.

According to one high-ranking staffer in the new Administration, who asked not to be named, it will take 1 or 2 months if it is decided to carry out a "minimum" study of America's military programs and position in the arms control sphere. If it is decided to conduct a larger-scale, "maximum" appraisal of the U.S. strategic positions and goals, that will take a year.... An article in the BALTIMORE SUN, based, it is believed, on an off-the-record interview with Scowcroft, says that the resumption of major talks on strategic armaments with the Soviets should be postponed for a year until the Bush Administration has formulated its policy....

Thus, both the former and the latter are talking about time. But in the modern world—with its bewildering speeds and snowballing problems of survival—time is developing from the fourth dimension into the first. Time does not stand still. The bitter experience of previous years has shown that scientific and technical development in the military sphere tends to outstrip diplomacy, and the present shows that the slogan "modernization" hangs like the sword of Damocles over any achievement in the reduction or limitation of nuclear and other arms. Time does not stand still in a specific sense, even on the calendar. In mid-February, for instance, talks on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms are due to resume, and in March NATO and the Warsaw Pact are beginning a new round of talks aimed at reducing armaments and armed forces in Europe.

Furthermore, Bush's first comments as President attest that the problem of the limousine's speed is becoming an increasing priority for him. "I do not want to create the impression that I am procrastinating or refusing to make progress. I think Mikhail Gorbachev understands that I am interested in further progress, but it would be unwise for me not to instruct my own team to analyze the whole situation," Bush stated in an interview in U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. Yes, the Soviet Union understands this perfectly well. But it also understands that an interest in preserving peace must be global in character and the means of attaining that can only result from a rational consensus which cannot be delayed indefinitely.

In a message of congratulations to George Bush on assuming the presidency, M.S. Gorbachev expressed the hope that the years of his term in the White House as

41st President will be marked by a stable and multifaceted development of relations between our countries, which is important for peace throughout the world. For its part the Soviet Union, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, is prepared to work in that direction.

On Saturday 21 January the 41st President of the United States left his private apartment in the White House and entered the Oval Office, although he had not intended to do that until Monday 23 January. This was because groups of Americans had begun arriving in the White House, and the new President felt it his duty to act as guide for one group. In the Oval Office he gave his first interview, in which he mentioned M.S. Gorbachev's message. "He sent me a very good, very magnanimous letter," Bush said.

In the evening of 23 January M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush had a telephone conversation. (A report on that is published in today's IZVESTIYA). The conversation took place in the atmosphere of amicability which has marked contacts between the Soviet and U.S. leaderships of late. The Gorbachev-Reagan meetings were evidence of that. George Bush also took part in the last one. As is well known, the quantity of these summits has developed into a positive quality. Suffice it to recall the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The increasing dynamism of Soviet-U..S relations contributed tremendously to this switch from quantity to quality. Let us hope that the new U.S. President's new limousine meets not only modern technical standards but also the standards of the new political thinking.

Akhromeyev Receives Representative Aspin
LD2501163189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1548 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 January (TASS)—A discussion took place today between Sergey Akhromeyev, member of Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union and Les Aspin, chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Yakovlev Receives Columbia University Professor
LD2601030189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Comrade Yakovlev received Professor Bialer, director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University. A detailed, frank conversation took place on a wide range of questions regarding world politics.

Soviet, U.S. Antiterrorist Experts Hold Seminar
LD2501211789 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kirill Dibrova:

Soviet and American experts on anti-terrorist struggle taking part in a joint seminar held here have recommended Soviet and American Governments to work for the creation of a permanent international body at the U.N. Security Council which would monitor the observance of the existing conventions aimed at putting an end to terrorist acts and would work out a new agreement.

Experts believe that a mechanism of control over the observance of the agreements should be changed. There exists at the U.N. only a special committee on international terrorism. It does not work as a permanent committee but is convened on separate occasions. Last time it happened ten years ago.

Apart from it, specialists came to the conclusion that the existing international conventions are often not effective enough or are not put into effect because many countries did not join them. It is necessary to thoroughly review the international legislation of terrorism. Early in the 80s the United States came up with an initiative at the U.N. to work out a comprehensive convention, but at that time the idea was not supported. "We should suggest to our governments that they take action at the U.N. and start working out a multilateral agreement on stopping and preventing acts of international terrorism," Valentin Romanov, a lawyer specialising in the international law, said at the seminar.

There emerges another problem closely connected with the pooling of international efforts in the struggle against terrorism, namely, the unification of national legislations. It was decided to draw up joint comments on the normative acts of the two countries envisaging measures of prevention and punishment for terrorism. According to John Murphy, Professor of International Law, the comparison of national legislations would be rather useful. It would permit the two countries to avoid mistakes in the future which the two countries have already made in their normative acts.

PRAVDA Reports Economic Conference Held at UN
PM2601105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Sukhoy: "An Essential Discussion"]

[Text] New York, 22 Jan—The U.S. press has shown an interest in the results of the 2-day U.S.-Soviet economic conference "Toward Peace Via Trade, Investment, and Development," held at UN headquarters.

The exchange of views was on four main topics. They included: "USSR-United States: Possibilities and Realities of Economic Cooperation," "Currency and Financial and Organizational Aspects of Economic Links," and "Prospects for Mutual Trade."

Each side delivered 17 brief reports. The conference was addressed by Yu.N. Chumakov, Soviet delegation leader and USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations; John Kenneth Galbraith, the well-known U.S. economist; A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the United Nations; B. Vayner [name as transliterated], president of the U.S. company Probe International, which was one of the organizers of the conference; V.P. Kabaidze, general director of the Ivanovo Machine Building Association, and leaders of Soviet foreign trade associations and representatives of U.S. business circles.

China

PRC Hopes for U.S. Action on Taiwan, Unification

PM1901143189 Moscow TRUD in Russian
18 Jan 89 p 3

[Ye. Piskunov article: "The Taiwan Issue Remains on the Agenda of Sino-American Relations"]

[Text] Two events, which on one hand are closely related, and on the other are constantly at variance with each other, were marked in China at the beginning of January. These are the 10th anniversary of the establishment of PRC-U.S. diplomatic relations and the 10th anniversary of the publication in Beijing of the "Appeal to Taiwanese Compatriots."

The Chinese press has recently noted the great progress achieved in "bridge-building" across the Pacific and strengthening PRC-U.S. economic, cultural, and scientific-technical ties.

After the normalization of relations both countries signed an agreement on trade ties, whereby each of them obtained most-favored-nation status. Accords were concluded on cooperation in industry and the development of new technologies and fishing.

These ties have developed at a rapid rate in past years, Wang Pinqing, PRC vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade, stated in an interview to XINHUA. "Extensive opportunities" exist for further expanding them.

The volume of Sino-American trade has risen from $990 million in 1978 to $9 billion in 1989 [as published]. Winston Lord, U.S. ambassador to China, forecasts that it will increase to $13 billion this year.

According to Chinese statistical data, U.S. investments in the PRC economy are on a par with those of other Western countries. Presently 570 American projects, worth a total of around $4 billion, are being implemented in the republic. Cooperation covers a wide range of sectors, including aircraft construction, prospecting for and exploitation of oilfields, production of automobiles and medicaments, and hospital construction.

At the same time the PRC has set up 140 jointly or wholly owned enterprises in the United States.

However, according to Chinese newspapers, not everything in trade and economic ties between the two countries is so serene. The United States maintains strict control over the export of equipment and technology to the PRC. The import of Chinese goods into the American market is also restricted.

But the main obstacle to the further development of relations is political: It is the problem of Taiwan.

The PRC position formulated 10 years ago in the "Appeal to Taiwanese Compatriots" has been augmented by a number of documents and positive steps. As PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian noted in a speech on this anniversary, it consists in "seeking the noble aim of unifying the Chinese nation as quickly as possible."

Wu Xueqian noted that the concept of "one state—two systems," on which unification is based, has received the support of all genuine patriotic forces on both sides of the Formosa Strait. The international agreements on Hong Kong and Macao are good practical examples of this concept.

The official Taipei reaction to these constructive proposals remains negative. The last congress of the Kuomintang (the ruling party on the island) reaffirmed the old formula of the "three noes": no talks with the PRC, no contacts, no compromises. Yet a certain easing of the long confrontation is observable. Thousands of Taiwanese have visited the mainland to meet relatives. A number of Taipei firms have invested funds in the PRC economy. The volume of indirect trade (mainly via Hong Kong and Singapore) has topped $2 billion. Nongovernmental ties are developing in the cultural, scientific, and sports fields.

Washington's double game on the "Taiwan issue" began virtually immediately after the establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC. The ink on the document sealing this agreement had not had time to dry when the U.S. Congress passed Law 2479 on "new relations with Taiwan," which envisages the maintenance of a whole range of American-Taiwanese ties at the previous level.

The island steadily maintains its position as one of America's leading trading and economic partners in Asia. More than 200 American corporations have put down deep roots, having invested billions of dollars in the economy .

These billions reinforce U.S. determination to, as American officials put it, "ensure the defense of the island" at any price. A paradoxical thing has occurred. U.S.-Taiwanese diplomatic relations were formally broken off in 1979. In fact, however, and in addition to everything else, neither joint American-Taiwanese military maneuvers nor visits by U.S. warships to Taiwanese ports have ceased. Taiwan military personnel are trained at Pentagon bases and in third countries.

By continuing to play this parallel game the United States has managed to sidestep the Sino-American "Shanghai communique," signed in 1982. This committed Washington to restrict the sale of weapons to Taiwan to 1979 levels and, moreover, to reduce them annually by $20 million.

While adhering to the letter of the communique in its pronouncements, the White House has in fact begun to transfer modern military technology to Taipei. The aim of the maneuver is to switch mass arms production to Taiwan.

Work to create a lightweight, supersonic fighter, codenamed IDF and to be put into assembly-line production in the early nineties, is going flat out. A kind of hybrid aircraft created on the basis of American F-16 and F-20 fighters is to be adopted by the Taiwanese Air Force. A new type of Taiwanese tank is being planned. Taipei is intending to equip its navy with 10 guided-missile frigates of the latest design, costing $300 milion each.

Secret work on their own "missile project" has begun in the city of Taoyuan.

Recently, several members of the Taiwanese Parliament from the opposition Democratic Progress Party voiced their concern regarding the fact that Taiwan is capable of producing nuclear weapons.

Thus, at a time when detente is gathering momentum in other regions of the world and a number of very important steps to reduce arms have been taken, cold winds prevail on the island of Taiwan.

U.S. advocacy of the unification of China, Fei Xiaotong, vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, stated, is all talk and no action. Fei Xiaotong expressed the hope that, on becoming President, George Bush will take the requisite steps to help solve this problem.

Taiwan Issue Hampers Development of U.S.-PRC Ties

OW2501111089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Nikolayev commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] The U.S. Government intends to increase funds for the so-called American Institute in Taiwan [AIT]. In the Fiscal Year [FY] 1990 draft budget, funds for it will increase by more than $400,000. In FY 1989, which will end on 30 September, the AIT's funds are $11.3 million. In this connection, our station commentator Nikolayev writes:

The AIT has been active in Taiwan for 10 years. It was established in January 1979 after the United States severed diplomatic ties with the Taiwan authorities. This organization is not an embassy in name only. Actually, it is given full powers. Besides issuing passports and visas and handling daily routine issues, it is also authorized to coordinate trade and cultural ties between the United States and Taiwan. In addition, it is in charge of U.S. arms supply to the Taiwan authorities.

The military cooperation between the United States and Taiwan is still playing an important role in their relations, and the U.S. Government does not regard this as a secret. According to data available now, over the past 8 years the United States provided Taiwan with weapons worth $6 billion. These is just direct military supplies. The United States also continues to enhance the Taiwan authorities' military power through various channels. For example, Washington has spared no efforts in promoting the development of Taiwan's military industry. The United States has supplied Taiwan with the latest technologies for related uses.

A number of enterprises in Taiwan, in cooperation with U.S. corporations, are developing the production of modern jets, guided missiles, helicopters, and warships. The Government of the People's Republic of China has more than once taken formal diplomatic action, asking the United States to stop the supply of arms to the Taiwan authorities. In August 1982, it seemed that this question could be solved. China and the United States signed a communique. According to this document, the United States promised to taper off military supply to Taiwan till it completely ended its obligation to supply.

Facts in the past few years have shown that what the United States promised was a mere scrap of paper. In addition, the United States (?failed to honor) the Sino-U.S. agreement reached more than 6 years ago.

Just as I have already pointed out, the United States is supplying the Taiwan authorities with military technology on an increasingly large scale. The Taiwan issue has made Sino-U.S. relations very bleak. During his recent visit to Yugoslavia, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen pointed out that, if it were not for the Taiwan problem, relations between China and the United States could be developed more smoothly.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev 'Unlikely' To Attend Hirohito's Funeral

OW2501140389 Tokyo KYODO in English 1346 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 25 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is unlikely to attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito, a Foreign Ministry spokesman hinted Wednesday.

The spokesman speaking at a news conference in Moscow, suggested that the Soviet Union will be represented at the February 24 funeral service by someone other than the party secretary-general.

The spokesman was commenting on a U.S. television report that Gorbachev may attend the funeral.

He said that no decision has been made on who will lead the Soviet delegation but he understood that it would not be Gorbachev.

Japan-U.S. Exercise 'Provocative Saber-Rattling'

PM2501135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev "Rejoinder": "Provoking...."]

[Text] Tokyo—Some 3 months ago the newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN, which has close ties with the Japan Defense Agency, reported the intention of that agency's leadership to involve Japan's ground, air, and naval "Self-Defense Forces" in the largest ever U.S. military maneuvers in the Pacific, planned by the Pentagon for September-October this year. Now the same newspaper has published its latest report on this topic. This time, SANKEI SHIMBUN writes, the joint U.S.-Japanese exercises will be held in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet coast. The most important part of the maneuvers will be to rehearse operations to "knock out Kamchatka," to "occupy the Kuril Islands," to "establish control over the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan," and to "attack the Maritime Kray."

It is worth noting that in publishing this report, the SANKEI SHIMBUN editorial office is not in the least embarrassed by the frankly aggressive nature of the planned exercises. One can only be amazed that nowadays, when the international community's thoughts are focused on universal disarmament, the easing of tension, and normalization of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, Japan is publishing material which speaks unhesitatingly of the intention of U.S. and Japanese Armed Forces to prepare for large-scale military operations envisaging an attack on Soviet territory. All this has the appearance of a provocation. One gets the impression that some people in Japan dislike the recent trend toward improved Soviet-Japanese relations and a thaw in the international climate in the Asian-Pacific region. Otherwise, what is the point of all this provocative saber-rattling off our coast?

Bilateral Port Opening With South Korea Planned

SK2501073189 Seoul YONHAP in English 0659 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, Jan. 25 (YONHAP)—South Korea recently reached agreement with the Soviet Union on bilateral port opening, shipping sources said Wednesday.

Two Soviet officials—S.I. Sergeyev, vice director of Glavflot, a government shipping organization, and a senior official of Fesco, a shipping firm, arrived here on Jan. 19 for negotiations with Korean shipping officials and shipowners on port opening.

Korea will send a delegation including officials and businessmen to Moscow in the near future to discuss details on the principle of reciprocity.

Under the agreement, the Soviet Union will open Vostochnyy, a port on Sakhalin Island, and Nakhodka to Korean ships, while Korea will open its ports of Pusan and Inchon and allow Soviet ships to undergo repairs and refueling.

The two sides also agreed to establish a regular direct sea lane between the two nations, the sources said.

However, as for Korea's request that the Soviet Union permit Korean shipping companies to transport freight via the Trans-Siberia Railroad as well as direct trade goods, the Soviet side showed a reluctance due to a Soviet-Japan maritime agreement.

Direct trade goods between the Soviet Union and Korea and freight via the Trans-Siberia Railroad are currently transported by ships jointly operated by two Japanese firms, including Yamashita-Shinnihon Steamship Co., and the Soviet firm Fesco under the Soviet-Japan Maritime Agreement, the sources said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Journalists Asked To Leave Sierra Leone

AB2501132989 Paris AFP in French 1251 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Freetown, 25 Jan (AFP)—Two Soviet journalists were asked yesterday by the Sierra Leonean authorities to leave the country within 24 hours, it was learned from well-informed sources in Freetown today. No explanation was given for this expulsion of Aleksandr Perisoskiy, a TASS correspondent, and Valentin Borisov of NOVOSTI news agency. The two journalists are expected to fly to Paris this evening.

The USSR and Sierra Leone maintain good relations, and the two countries have recently renewed a major fishing agreement, observers note.

Namibian 'Political Knots,' Peace Prospects Noted

PM2501133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin: "Namibian Horizons"]

[Excerpts] Within the framework of the general relaxation of international tension there has been some movement even on chronic local conflicts. Thus at the end of

last year hope for a peaceful political settlement of the Namibian problem seemed to emerge. The essence of this problem is ending the RSA's occupation of Namibia and granting Namibia independence. I write "seemed" because the knot of contradictions is tied all too tightly and because the path from signing the agreements to their fulfillment is correspondingly long and difficult. [passage omitted]

Cuba and Angola are signing an agreement on the completion of the Cuban military contingent's international mission. The agreement is based on the premise that Namibia's independence, respect for Angola's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, and the establishment of peace and security in southwest Africa eliminate the reasons which prompted the Angolan Government—in accordance with the legitimate exercise of its rights under Article 51 of the UN Charter—to ask for Cuban forces to be sent to Angolan territory to defend, jointly with the Angolan Army, Angola's territory and sovereignty in view of the invasion and occupation of part of its territory. It is proposed to complete the total withdrawal of Cuban forces by 1 July 1991. A clear timetable for the troop withdrawal is appended to the agreement.

At the same time Angola, Cuba, and the RSA signed an agreement on a settlement in southern Africa. The sides agreed to implement Resolution 435 from 1 April 1989. All the RSA's Armed Forces must leave Namibia. It is planned to hold free and fair elections with the participation, naturally, of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO]. The sides pledged that their territory will not be used for aggression against any state in southwest Africa. In general, Namibia's freedom and independence are the essence and main political content of the triple agreement.

The RSA does not have a very good reputation, to put it mildly. For this reason everyone is closely watching its specific, practical steps. There are worrying reports. Certain newspapers report that Pretoria is preparing to splinter Namibia into a series of puppet "republics" (in the Caprivi strip, in Rehoboth district, and so forth). It has also been reported that the RSA is training bandit terrorist groupings and is stationing them in northeast Namibia. In particular, "Namibian citizenship" documents are being handed to bandits of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and then being redeployed in Namibia. Let us hope that the RSA's friends will be able to keep Pretoria from carrying out such "ruses."

Meanwhile, the Cubans have already begun—ahead of schedule—to withdraw their troops. The UN inspectors have also set to work. In order to keep within the timetable it is necessary, as stated by Antonio dos Santos Franca, chief of the Angolan People's Liberation Armed Forces General Staff, to build two airstrips, to provide sufficient aircraft, motor vehicles, and fuel, and to create conditions for accommodating the forces. About $800 million will be required. The Angolan Government has asked for international aid for this.

The question of the size of the UN group to be stationed in Namibia is causing disagreement. According to initial estimates approved in 1978, approximately 7,500 servicemen and 2,000 civilians are to be used. The operation's cost is estimated at close to $650 million. In December last year the United States started to lobby—not without success—the other Security Council members to reduce the UN group in Namibia, and therefore the financial expenditure also. This provoked protests from the SWAPO leadership. The Angolan Government also objects. An ANGOP statement says that the U.S. proposal to reduce the size of the UN group's military contingent for aid to Namibia during the transitional period aims to create for the Pretoria authorities the conditions for wrecking free and democratic elections under the international community's supervision. ...If the U.S. proposals are accepted, the Pretoria regime will be able to falsify the election results to the advantage of its puppets from the internal political groupings, ANGOP stresses.

The Security Council's position is somewhat vague. On 16 January it told the UN secretary general to reexamine the requirements for the UN forces' activity in Namibia and to determine measures to reduce expenditure without adversely affecting their fulfillment of their mandate, that is, ensuring Namibia's independence as soon as possible. However, it is not clear what this will mean in concrete terms.

The stability of any international agreement depends on how correctly the interests of the sides reaching the agreement have been defined, coordinated, and made interdependent. Pretoria clearly regards withdrawal from Namibia and the ending of armed raids against Angola as a way to boost the country's reputation and normalize relations with black Africa. At the same time, the ending of the unpopular war in Angola and ending of the expenditure running into many billions in Namibia are intended to facilitate implementation of the reformist course and the policy of "refining" racism which characterize the RSA in the 1980's.

By signing the agreement, Angola is hoping, above all, to ensure the security of its southern borders. It is also important for Luanda that Pretoria has stated unambiguously that it is terminating its support for UNITA. For its part, Angola pledged to ban African National Congress [ANC] military formations from Angolan territory. This, of course, complicates the position of the ANC, and primarily of its military wing, "Umkhonto we Sizwe." Particularly if it is taken into account that other "Frontline" States, fearing RSA sanctions, are not ready—at least officially—to give refuge to ANC partisans. Nonetheless, speaking at a press conference on the

ANC's 77th anniversary, ANC President Oliver Tambo appealed for the continuation of the armed struggle against the RSA's racist regime.

Southern Africa still has a long way to go before it achieves peace and calm. Civil wars are draining Angola and Mozambique. Racial conflicts are raging in the RSA. All the same the solution (even if still only on paper) of the Namibian problem is opening up new horizons. Political knots do not have to be cut. They can be untied.

Envoy Gives USSR Position on UN Namibia Force
MB2501163789 Dakar PANA in English 1625 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Harare, 25 Jan (ZIANA/PANA)—Soviet Ambassador to Zimbabwe Arkadiy Glukhov on Wednesday called at the office of acting President Simon Muzenda to inform him of the Soviet position on reductions in the size of the UNTA [United Nations Transitional Assistance Group] peace force in Namibia.

Mr Glukhov delivered to Mr Muzenda Moscow's response to President Robert Mugabe's message on proposals to reduce drastically the size of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group forces.

In an interview with ZIANA after the meeting with Mr Muzenda, the Soviet envoy said Mugabe had three weeks ago expressed to the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, concern that Security Council Resolution 435 would not be implemented in full because some members of the Security Council proposed to [word indistinct] UNTAG forces.

He appealed to the Soviet Union as a permanent member of the Security Council to oppose such idea of reduction, said Mr Glukhov.

The Soviet Union was opposed to any reduction of the forces but was at the same time not indifferent to the costs the peace keeping force would incur and wished to see other means of reducing costs being found, without reducing the size of the force, he said.

It (this situation) is very dangerous and should be avoided, he said.

The new position, Mr Glukhov said, was that the UNTAG army would be dispatched to Namibia in installments.

Should the [words indistinct], the UNTAG commander would ask for more forces but not exceed the 7,500 upper limit.

Security Council members were hoping there would be no need for reinforcements, thereby reducing the cost of maintaining the forces in Namibia without too much haggling.

This could serve as a compromise. On Monday, nonaligned countries held an emergency meeting in New York and deplored the persistent pressure being put on the UN Secretary general to reduce the size of the force.

RSA Editor Stresses Need for Unbiased Reporting
MB1401150489 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1745 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The appearance of the new information organ VRYE WEEKBLAD has caused a truly remarkable stir on the South African scene.

This is the first time an Afrikaans-language publication has started independently, and it was clear right from the start that the newspaper's reporting threatened the state.

To understand the circumstances surrounding the situation, Boris Pilyatskin, a reporter from the Soviet parliament's newspaper IZVESTIYA who is stationed in Mozambique, phoned VRYE WEEKBLAD Editor Max du Preez in Johannesburg. The interview was published in IZVESTIYA. We now give you an account of the interview:

The correspondent first asked: Why did the people need a new weekly newspaper? In our entire history, says Mr Du Preez, we have never had an Afrikaans newspaper or journal circulate positive, unbiased reports. This is why the majority of Afrikaans-speaking, white South Africans had a distorted opinion of events in South Africa and outside its borders, and why a group of journalists decided to start a newspaper that would tell its readers the truth.

The idea interested some liberal politicians and businessmen. We sent copies to former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van zyl Slabbert, Stellenbosch professor Sampie Terreblanche, and others.

The state's attitude toward VRYE WEEKBLAD was very negative, and the newspaper sensed this immediately. The second edition had not yet been published when the editorial staff received a notification from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha requesting 30,000 rands to guarantee VRYE WEEKBLAD's registration, the largest fee of its kind in South Africa. Registration is normally an informal procedure and has never cost more than 10 rands. Special fees were charged to ensure a good attitude toward the newspaper and its future.

This is nothing but a vendetta against the journalists. The registration fee was eventually obtained by a group of people from the South African community who, like never before, needed a free press.

Max du Preez ended the interview by saying that one of the newspaper's columns was entirely dedicated to the Soviet Union because South Africans were very interested in the Soviet Union's restructuring reform program and that VRYE WEEKBLAD will continue to inform its readers about it.

Angolan Official Comments on UNITA Infiltrations

LD2401072089 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT Jan 89

[Text] Cabinda January 24 TASS—"We know numerous facts which confirm that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bandits continue to penetrate the northern areas of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) from neighbouring Zaire", Jorge Barros Chimpuati, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers Party, first secretary of the committee of the party and commissioner of Cabinda Province, said here in an interview with a group of Soviet journalists.

First UNITA groups, he said, appeared in the province in 1986. They operate jointly with the remains of the secessionist FLEC [Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave] group which fought for separation of Cabinda from the PRA. Many members of that organisation who were taken prisoner or voluntarily surrendered to the authorities admitted that they had undergone special training at UNITA's main base Jambe and had been then brought to Zaire and from there to Cabinda.

The military and political situation in the province has become somewhat normalised of late, although it remains tense in a number of areas, Chimpuati pointed out.

The People's Liberation Armed Forces of Angola (FAPLA) wage a resolute struggle against the terrorists. FAPLA servicemen are actively assisted by civilians who are united in people's defence detachments. Through joint efforts they managed to defend major economic facilities and first of all oil production areas at Malongo.

Measures being taken by the leadership of the province within the framework of the policy of benevolence and the attainment of national harmony also yield positive tangible results.

Over the past several years, more than three thousand compatriots who had been drawn into anti-people activities by force or deception have voluntarily given themselves up. At the same time Angolan refugees return home from neighbouring Zaire.

The agreements on a peaceful settlement of the situation in the south-west of Africa, signed in New York at the end of last year, open up a real way to the establishment of peace in Angola.

We shall be able at last to channel the huge funds which are now spent on defence needs into uses for the purposes of national reconstruction. The implementation of the socio-economic development program has been started in Cabinda. The main emphasis is being laid on raising agriculture from ruin, on refining the medical service system, and on eliminating illiteracy.

Chimpuati highly appreciated the contribution made by Soviet specialists, who work in the province, to the training of personnel and to the development of health services.

The Soviet Union has always sided with the Angolan people both during the years of struggle for independence and in the period of defence of and increase in revolutionary gains. We hope that relations between the two countries will grow still stronger now that a peaceful prospect has become visible in Angola, Chimpuati pointed out.

Angolan Delegation Studies Economic Reform

PM2501125189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Guests From Angola"]

[Text] A delegation of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, headed by P. Junior, party Central Committee secretary for economic, social, and production questions, was in Moscow 17-21 January to study the economic reform being implemented in the USSR.

The Angolan guests were received at the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic and International Departments and at the Tsentrosoyuz Board. They visited a number of industrial enterprises in the capital and Moscow Oblast, where they were briefed on party organizations' work in conditions of the transition to economic accountability and self-financing.

Soviet-Ethiopian Cooperation Commission Meets

PM2301164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 18 Jan—A number of projects of vital importance to the country's development have begun to be implemented here since the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and Ethiopia was signed in 1978. Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, stated this here today during a meeting with K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations. He heads the Soviet delegation which is participating in the work of the eighth session of the Soviet-Ethiopian Intergovernmental Commission on

Questions of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation and Trade. Ethiopia will make every effort for the successful implementation of accords in the sphere of bilateral cooperation, the president said.

The Soviet-Ethiopian intergovernmental commission examined questions of further strengthening ties between the two countries. The prospects for cooperation in the spheres of agriculture and the development of natural resources, geology, the mining sector, industry, trade, finances, science, and technology were discussed.

Cooperation Planned With Guinea-Bissau Party

PM1801141989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Is Developing"]

[Text] Bissau, 17 Jan—A plan for party ties between the CPSU and the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde [PAIGC] has been signed here. The document provides for the further development of interparty cooperation, in particular the exchange of delegates for consultations on topical international problems and also the study of various aspects of party work. The CPSU will continue to assist in training PAIGC cadres and in the work of the political enlightenment network.

CPSU Delegation Visits Seychelles, Holds Talks

PM2001171589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Under the protocol on cooperation between the CPSU and the Seychelles People's Progressive Front [SPPF], a CPSU delegation headed by Yu.N. Prokopyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Yakutsk CPSU Obkom, visited the Republic of Seychelles 11-17 January.

The delegation was received by France A. Rene, general secretary of the SPPF and president of the Republic, talked with secretaries of the SPPF Central Committee and members of the Seychelles Government, and had meetings with party activists, at which its members spoke about the revolutionary restructuring underway in the Soviet Union. The Seychelles side made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and noted the great international significance of restructuring. The mutual desire to develop relations between the CPSU and the SPPF and between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Seychelles was expressed.

The delegation returned home 18 January.

East Europe

Gorbachev Greets Soviet-Polish Friendship Society

LD2601102789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent greetings to the 12th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Soviet-Polish friendship is the great property of our peoples, says the telegram. It has become the concern of millions of people in both countries, and considerable merit for this goes to the many years of comprehensive work by the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and its thousands of activists. Comrade Gorbachev wished success on the congress' work.

Poland's Urban Speaks at Moscow News Conference

LD2401223989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] A press conference took place today at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow. Jerzy Urban, the government press spokesman of the Polish People's Republic addressed it. [video shows Urban sitting beside Gerasimov and unidentified man; cuts to the audience throughout]

He stressed that all the transformations being carried out in Poland are aimed at developing the working people's initiative in the economy and in politics, science, and culture. The Polish Government spokesman talked about the reforms in the PPR, which are, as he put it, a fragment of the universal perestroyka that is taking place in the socialist countries. The Polish reforms are being particularly influenced by perestroyka in the Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev's initiatives, the East-West dialogue, and changes in the West's attitude toward Poland. Great importance in that process is also attached to the changes occurring in the balance of political forces within the country.

The Polish Government spokesman pointed out that particular attention in the reform program is being given to economic development. Freedom of action has been granted to the state, mixed, cooperative, and private sectors. Identical conditions of existence and equal principles of taxation have been created for them. But the state sector will remain dominant. The broad functioning of foreign capital and the opening of competing banks will be an important factor in the Polish economy. Eighty percent of food is now being produced by the private sector. But these economic changes have not yet yielded concrete results in Poland, Jerzy Urban emphasized. They have, however, created a favorable basis for political transformations.

Poland's Olechowski Writes on Foreign Policy

PM2501150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski: "Politics Without Stereotypes. UN Speech: Impetus for Questing and Action"]

[Text] Warsaw, January—The beginning of 1989 prompts us to ponder two things: what already exists and has been done, and what may happen and ought to be done. I would like to share my thoughts on the topic of Polish foreign policy at this moment. I will concentrate my attention on the things that are most important for Poland and Poles today.

In my opinion, three questions deserve particular attention. They are our relations with the Soviet Union at a time of change in both countries, the role of Polish foreign policy in light of the topical transformations in my country, and the European aspects of Poland's international policy set against the backdrop of the development of East-West relations. My article has in many respects been prompted by the important decisions that the Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev announced from the rostrum of the 43d UN General Assembly session 7 December last year.

Our alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR have long been a fundamental principle in Polish foreign policy. However, never in the history of our relations have the political leadership and—this is particularly important—the peoples of both countries been so close in their feelings and endeavors as now. We are witnessing and at the same time coauthoring, as it were, the formation of mutual relations of a qualitatively new nature, which are assuming ever-increasing general human significance.

Our developing partnership in all spheres also expresses our genuine desire for practical rapprochement—reciprocal, direct, outright cooperation. An interesting idea was voiced in the Soviet leader's New York speech: Domestic transformation processes cannot attain their national goals solely by proceeding on "parallel courses" with others, without making use of the achievements of the world around them and the potential for equitable cooperation. In fact, is it really possible these days to live, develop, and resolve joint problems normally in conditions of marked isolation, if this concerns the countries of East and West, or in conditions of passive and limited contacts, if we're talking about socialist countries?

We can see how contacts and business ties are established, developed, and modernized in border regions between production and trading enterprises, research centers, cultural establishments, and representatives of the most varied circles of our countries. It is they, the individual citizens of Poland and the Soviet Union, who are the co-organizers, common masters, and creators of many forms of cooperation. It is they who derive greater benefit than ever before from this and direct advantage for themselves. I would say that the process of the collectivization of our relations is continuing.

The masses' unequivocal reaction to the Declaration on Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture signed in 1987 by W. Jaruzelski and M.S. Gorbachev, the atmosphere accompanying the implementation of this document, and the warmth and cordiality with which Poles greeted the Soviet leader in the course of his visit to Poland in the summer of 1988 illustrate the qualitatively new relations between our countries. This last event is of particular significance. It convincingly confirmed that the durable historical foundations of Polish-Soviet friendship have become even firmer and the friendship itself has been considerably enriched and, I would observe, has been rapidly developed.

This consistent progression is based on the radical reforms of the sociopolitical and economic systems in both countries and the resolution with which efforts are being made both in the Soviet Union and Poland to escape from the narrow, conservative frameworks of former stereotypes and the desire to elaborate a truly humanist, democratic, and effective model of socialist society that accords with all modern requirements.

It is no coincidence that the long-awaited changes in international politics have taken place against this backdrop and that the new political thinking is asserting itself before our very eyes. Everyone has noted the Soviet side's different view of itself and the world around it. The increased activeness of USSR foreign policy, distinguished by its purposefulness and flexibility, is graphically visible. Things that recently were impossible or hard to imagine—such as an improvement in USSR-U.S. relations and East-West relations on the whole and progress in the disarmament sphere and in resolving regional conflicts—are today becoming reality.

Positive transformations in international relations have never been a matter of chance. World public opinion and the representatives of influential forces who are sometimes far from sympathetic to the ideas of socialism have perceived and acknowledged the tremendous significance of the new, realistic, and flexible policy of peace, the easing of tension, and cooperation—a policy free of dogma yet consistent and aggressive—such as that being pursued by the socialist world and primarily a power such as the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the policy of the new thinking logically stems from the truly revolutionary changes within the socialist countries. An inverse relationship can also be detected: The more stable the international situation becomes, the better relations become with the outside world and the more favorable the preconditions for implementing political and economic reforms within our countries.

That is why Polish foreign policy considers its main principle to be support for the process of reform at home. We are endeavoring to shape and implement foreign policy so that it is not only allied with but also provides powerful stimulus for domestic reforms.

At the same time it is clear that the constant, classic aim of Polish international policy is to consolidate the country's security and effectively support the processes of relaxing tension and of disarmament. There is hardly any point in assuring PRAVDA's readers of Poland's active support for the Soviet proposals in this sphere, or its creative participation in promoting common measures within the Warsaw Pact. This stems from Polish state interests and is our political alphabet. It is not only a matter of alliance loyalty and mutual assistance but of our own national interests that are closely linked with our allies' interests.

These interests are the source of our own initiatives aimed at strengthening universal security, deepening the processes of slackening tension, and deepening international cooperation in all spheres. We have always—from the Rapacki Plan to the Jaruzelski Plan—been guided by the following political philosophy: Seek your own security in the security of others, that is, first hold talks, seek agreements, and create trust.

During the era of the new thinking in international relations, during the time of marked improvement in the East-West situation, openness in relations with the outside world, and the ever-increasing significance of medium-sized and small states, we are broadening our dialogue and persistently seeking to continue it—boldly, without ideological prejudice. Poland's foreign policy in 1988 was characterized by openness toward all partners, in various directions, and in all spheres. Our national interests and the quest for and utilization of all opportunities and potential for contacts and cooperation were the main criteria.

It is understandable that, guided by these aims, Polish foreign policy unequivocally supports any actions aimed at fundamentally changing international relations for the better and effecting a transition from ordinary coexistence to "joint creation" and "joint development." I deliberately cited M.S. Gorbachev's words from the UN rostrum. The future of interstate relations lies in their deideologization and consideration of the many available options for social development. The Soviet leader's new proposals met with great attention in Poland since they accord with the vital interests of the Polish people and the concept of Polish international policy.

At his recent meeting in Moscow with the representatives of the Trilateral Commission M.S. Gorbachev announced a program of reductions in the USSR Armed Forces, including the withdrawal from East Europe of a number of formations and units which give an offensive character to the grouping located there, a reduction in the numerical strength of the Army and Navy, and a reduction in the military budget. These steps, which are being undertaken to give concrete substance to the present defensive nature of USSR military doctrine, have met with support in our country.

As I have already pointed out, Poland remains a reliable ally of the USSR and an active member of the socialist community and wants to broadly cooperate with other countries, particularly in Europe. Our national interests are historically linked with European traditions. This linkage is brought about by geographical, cultural, and many other conditions. The future of Europe and the role that we Poles will play in the structural development of our common continent is of considerable importance to us. Incidentally, in my opinion Poles' political thinking is also changing in this respect.

Over the centuries a kind of syndrome concerning our geographical position has become firmly established. We defined our position in terms of historical fatalism since we were "between great powers"—Germany and Russia. The European political and territorial realities that took shape as a result of World War II and were consolidated in legal form de facto and formally, and which represented, inter alia, a different socialist Poland within changed, secure borders, also brought about considerable changes in Poles' views of the continent and of their own place and role in this part of the world.

We uphold Europe as a whole, Europe as unity in diversity. The idea of a "common European home" is one in which every apartment will be both secure and attractive and in which collaboration between the inhabitants will increase both the achievements of everyone together and every individual and coincide with many Polish ideas and initiatives. Moreover, we do not want to sit back and wait passively for the situation to develop, playing as it were the role of a benevolent but inactive neighbor. I believe it is the opinion of most of my compatriots that Poland can to some extent assume special additional functions in the process of the "Europeanization of Europe" in order fittingly to play the role of a firm bridge uniting the European East with the West, the role of an integrating factor and active coauthor of the all-European concept of the continent's unity.

I realize that this is still only the prelude to the future. But given the Soviet Union and M.S. Gorbachev's well-known activeness, it is, however, already becoming the subject of detailed consideration. We are active participants in this platform for contemporary political development both through bilateral contacts and in the vast international arena; suffice it to recall the recent Warsaw conference for parliamentary representatives from Europe, the United States, and Canada. We are guided by the conviction that what is good for Europe is also good for Poland. We reckon that the process of filling in the abyss of discord and demarcation and the process of disarming the potentials for confrontation and mistrust

must be speeded up. The rate of change, the boldness and farsightedness of initiatives, and the flexibility of policy—that is what, in my opinion, is most important for Europe today.

The extent to which it will prove possible for us and all the people of the world to make this year a year of progress in Europe and throughout the world is dependent on many factors. One of them, I repeat, is the position, the very status of the socialist states, their successful domestic development, and the effectiveness of their political and economic reforms. I believe that the efforts in this direction taken both in the Soviet Union and Poland are having a tangible effect.

Shevardnadze Welcomes GDR's Military Cuts

LD2501173589 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, in a friendly discussion with Gerd Koenig, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to the Soviet Union, welcomed on behalf of the Soviet leadership the GDR's decision to cut unilaterally the numerical strength of the National Army, some types of arms and defence spending.

The decision on cuts to be implemented within the next two years was announced by chairman of the State Council Erich Honecker.

The Soviet minister emphasised that the USSR's attitude to the decision is that of understanding and support. This initiative corresponds to the Warsaw Treaty member countries' general course towards reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe without affecting their allied commitments on providing reliable security for the socialist community, and towards implementing practical measures for the further restructuring of the allied countries' military potentials on the basis of defence sufficiency.

The interlocutors stated that the bold unilateral steps undertaken by the Warsaw Treaty member countries in the spirit of openness create an encouraging atmosphere for the soon, to start talks on reducing conventional armed forces and building confidence and security in Europe.

The ambassador expressed gratitude for the high assessment of the major, principled step made by the GDR leadership.

The sides discussed other issues of mutual interest. They reaffirmed the complete identity of views with regard to West Berlin on the part of the USSR and the GDR.

GDR's Fischer Urges NATO Response

PM2501103389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Interview With O. Fischer"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jan—The program to create a nuclear-free world by the year 2000, announced by M.S. Gorbachev 3 years ago, is truly impressive. It impresses with its boldness of vision and the realism of its constructive proposals. The broad public regards the Soviet initiative as a "program for our age." This was said by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in an interview with our TASS correspondent.

Our world is changing for the better. But this is no easy process, because these changes are constantly opposed by circles eager to continue the policy of acting from a position of strength. However, the prospect of lasting, irreversible peace inspires and heartens the peoples, including the people of the GDR.

There is no doubt that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is a most important step in the direction of a nuclear-free world. It signifies our real entry into the era of disarmament. This treaty has shown that, despite sometimes profound differences, nuclear disarmament is possible. There must be no stopping now in the struggle for new, concrete results.

The far-reaching initiatives to make unilateral cuts of 500,000 men in the Soviet Armed Forces and withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary have historic significance. They are designed to speed up disarmament. The Warsaw Pact states, above all the Soviet Union, are thus taking important unilateral steps. This is fresh evidence of their determination and serious intention to strengthen detente and build effective cooperation. When will NATO act in a similar fashion and abandon its modernization, compensation, and intimidation?

The Warsaw Pact states have a program of nuclear disarmament and conventional arms reduction. We have ideas for immediate steps and tasks, and also plans for the longer-term future. Initiatives are needed from every country if they are to be put into practice.

The GDR makes its own contribution to the struggle for peace by offering its own proposals, which correspond to its specific historical and geographical conditions. I am thinking, in particular, of the proposal to create a corridor free of combat nuclear weapons. Our course has been and remains a constructive, predictable factor in world politics, O. Fischer noted.

Slyunkov Visits GDR for Cooperation Talks

Notes Goals of Visit

LD2401182789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Today, Comrade Slyunkov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, arrived in Berlin on a working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Special correspondent Aleksandr Zholkver reports:

[Zholkver] Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov's visit to the German Democratic Republic is taking place at a significant time. The German socialist state is preparing to celebrate its 40th anniversary. Official statistical data have only just been published on last year's socioeconomic development results. Key branches of industry in the GDR are developing significantly ahead of schedule. For example, the production of personal computers grew in 1 year by 16 percent. But there are problems. As a result of bad weather, the grain crop harvest dropped last summer by over seven percent.

During the working visit by Comrade Slyunkov, representatives of the party and state leaderships of our countries intend to exchange economic development experiences, and discuss the functioning of the economic mechanism and cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov said:

[Begin Slyunkov recording] Our task is to look at the two sides' proposals; to coordinate our plans for party work, party authority, party assistance, party control, influence, and practical organization; to discuss the areas of cooperation now being planned for the next 5-year plan; and to agree on a program of cooperation, a program of development, the economic development of our countries, and of scientific and technological progress as we look toward the year 2000. So, we will have to do a great deal of serious work, continuing those agreements, developing those agreements and questions of cooperation that were the subject of accords between General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Comrade Honecker for the future, for the next 5-year plan. [end recording]

Meets SED's Mittag

LD2401204789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] At the invitation of the SED Central Committee, Nikolay Slyunkov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived today for a working visit in Berlin. At the SED Central Committee a conversation took place between Comrade Slyunkov and Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee. The CPSU Central Committee secretary briefed German comrades in detail on the processes of restructuring underway in the party and the country, on progress in economic reform, and on the results of the USSR's social and economic development.

Comrade Mittag spoke of the SED's work in implementing the party's course toward integrating social and economic policy, and perfecting the management of the national economy and increasing its efficiency. During the conversation, an in-depth exchange of views took place on issues of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. It was stressed that the agreements attained at the highest level during the working visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to Moscow in September 1988 are very important for improving cooperation. Specific tasks aimed at perfecting interaction between the two countries in economic, scientific, and technical areas and raising it to a higher qualitative level were thoroughly discussed. Attention was primarily paid to the issues of improving mutual goods turnover, consistent strengthening of specialization, coordination of production in the crucial branches of material production, and actively using new progressive forms of integration.

Zaykov Arrives in Belgrade for Working Visit

LD2501135689 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 25 TASS—Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, first secretary of the party's Moscow city committee, arrived here today for a working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Talyzin, CSSR's Obzina Discuss Economic Ties

LD2501132789 Prague CTK in English 1210 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow Jan 25 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak deputy premier, permenent representative of Czechoslovakia in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Jaromir Obzina met here today with Soviet deputy premier and permanent representative of the Soviet Union in the CMEA Nikolay Talyzin.

The two representatives discussed the topical tasks of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific-technological cooperation and the possibilities of its further extension. They stated that to achieve a higher quality of mutual relations it is necessary to use new progressive forms of cooperation, such as direct relations, joint ventures, etc., to a greater extent.

Jaromir Obzina and Nikolay Talyzin pointed out the significance of the 130th session of the CMEA Executive Committee, and expressed the conviction that the implementation of the tasks adopted at this session will speed up the restructuring of the mechanism of mutual cooperation of the CMEA countries as well as the socialist economic integration.

Army's Lizichev, Other Officials Visit CSSR

Seen Off by Sorokin

PM2501122389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Departure for CSSR"]

[Text] Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, left Moscow for Prague with accompanying officials on 23 January for a visit at the invitation of CSSR Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR national defense minister, and Colonel General J. Klicha, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army Main Political Directorate.

Army General Lizichev was seen off at the airport by Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other officials.

Lieutenant General V. Pavlic, military and air force attache at the Czechoslovak Embassy in the USSR, was among the send-off party.

Jakes Receives Lizichev

LD2501203189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, 25 Jan (TASS)—In Prague today, M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee received Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, who is in the CSSR on an official friendly visit.

During their conversation M. Jakes welcomed the measures for unilateral reductions of armed forces being undertaken by the Soviet Union. The conviction was expressed that the results of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE states will make it possible to begin, from new positions, talks on reducing conventional weapons on the European continent and facilitate the strengthening of trust and security and the further improvement of relations between states. M. Jakes expressed his favorable assessment of cooperation between the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Soviet Army and its contribution to the strengthening of the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact participant states.

Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, and Colonel General J. Klicha, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, were present at the reception.

CSSR, Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers Meet

PM2501124389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Consultations have taken place in Prague between I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and P. Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister.

During conversations which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere the sides exchanged opinions on questions of bilateral relations, on the results of the fulfillment of the protocol on cooperation between the USSR Foreign Ministry and the CSSR Foreign Ministry in 1988 and the plan for its implementation in 1989, and on a series of current international problems. CSSR Foreign Minister J. Johanes received the consultation participants.

Stabilizing Hungarian Economy Requires Sacrifices

LD2101102789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" Newscast]

[Text] [Presenter] Here is a report by our Budapest correspondent Yevgeniy Shirokov:

[Shirokov] The current high tension in the country's public life was brought about primarily by the republic's National Assembly session, which was held in the first half of January. The laws adopted there on the Hungarian citizens' right to set up public unions and associations and hold rallies and meetings, are no longer being merely discussed, but implemented. This process—when talking about forces ready to take part in sensible work directed at strengthening the unity of Hungarian society—corresponds to the MSZMP position. As we all know, the road is clear for setting up other parties. The appropriate proposals are to be presented for examination by the parliamentary deputies by 1 August this year. [video shows Shirokov outside the parliament building; street scenes]

But for the moment, down-to-earth, every-day concerns are probably the closest for the majority of the people. At first, the price rises for many goods and services—announced on 9 January—were accepted more or less calmly. After all, they were not the first. But after a week or 2 the peoples' purses, especially people with modest means, began to emit alarm signals, almost like Geiger counters. The difficulties of balancing personal budgets intensified. Food prices increased on average by 16-17 percent. More will have to be spent on transportation. On 1 February fares will go up by 62 percent. The charges for domestic energy sources will rise by one-third. Telephone charges have increased sharply. Newspapers now cost twice as much. As the price changes have significantly exceeded the average rises of within 12

percent, as previously agreed on with the trade unions, the National Council of Trade Unions has criticized this measure, and advocated more substantial steps toward compensating for the price rises, including steps such as wage increases. Presumably negotiations between the trade unions and the government will continue.

Today fewer people visit savings and other banks: Deposits have fallen. Many inhabitants of Budapest—Hungarian television gave the figure of 25,000 families—did not have the resources to pay their December rent and communal service charges on time.

There is tension. To a large extent it results from hurriedly improving people's living standards in earlier years. The road to stabilization chosen by Hungary requires sacrifices. [video shows shoppers in markets and stores; price lists]

I talked with MSZMP Politburo member Rezso Nyers.

[Begin Nyers recording in Hungarian, fading into Russian translation] We cannot get away from the fact that economic reforms in our country are being worked out during a period of serious financial difficulties. In 1989 the consequences of this are going to be felt by the population. The standard of living is going to fall again, but we hope that this will be the last time. [end recording] [video shows Nyers being interviewed]

[Shirokov] Well, time will show to what extent this hopeful forecast is right. [video shows street scenes]

Economic Problems Aggravate Social

LD2001120289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 19 Jan 89

[By Vladimir Fadeyev]

[Excerpts] We have already reported a considerable price rise for basic goods in Hungary. This has aggravated the situation in society, which was strained enough. The country's trade unions came out with sharp criticism of the step. In certain regions, working people carried out 10-minute work stoppages to protest. Mikhaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest City MSZMP Committee described the situation in the capital last week as explosive. What is the matter? Why has Hungarian society reacted so sharply to a measure with which the government is trying to stabilize the situation in the country's economy? [passage omitted]

Personally, I like Hungary very much; I like its hard-working and intelligent people. From 1973 to 1978, I worked there as a radio and TV correspondent. I remember a press conference by a MSZMP Central Committee secretary some time in 1977—if I am not mistaken. I remember asking him how the media organs were to explain to the people the discrepancy that was already noticeable at that time between the living standards of various social categories and even within social groups themselves. I will recount his answer, but the important thing is that even 10 years ago the problems of today could be felt. Then, already, Hungary lived beyond its means, in other words—to put it bluntly—on credit. Over the past years, this credit has been growing—I mean the foreign debt, too, and, consequently, the deficit of the state budget. The total amount of debt has now reached such a figure that I would not even like to adduce it; so as not to embarrass our Hungarian friends.

I will not go into the details and causes of the situation; they are numerous. One cause, in particular, is that Hungary has been purchasing equipment and technology for hard currency, expecting to improve its situation quickly by breaking into the European market. It spent a lot of money on that, and for a time the results did not look too bad. But the country could not compete with Western companies because it had not earned the money required to continuously renew and improve machine tools and products. Another—and not the last—reason is private enterprise. It is a good idea, and we, in our country, are encouraging the setting up of all sorts of cooperatives, too. But the Hungarian experience—and I wish to draw your attention to this—should be a very serious warning for us. The activity of cooperatives should be strictly controlled by state financial organs. Hungary did not do this, and this is one of the causes of the plight in which millions of Hungarians find themselves today.

Debate Between Alternative Forum, MSZMP Cited

PM2501142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by correspondent F. Lukyanov under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Dialogue on Coalition"]

[Text] **The first public debate has been held in Budapest between representatives of the MSZMP and the alternative Hungarian Democratic Forum.**

Budapest—The main event in Hungarian political life in recent days has been the first public meeting-debate between representatives of the MSZMP and the Hungarian Democratic Forum—one of the most influential alternative sociopolitical organizations in the country. Established in September 1987, the Hungarian Democratic Forum has more than 15,000 members, who are chiefly from the intelligentsia—writers, historians, sociologists, political scientists, and economists.

...The auditorium of the Higher Political School under the MSZMP Central Committee, where the debate on the subject "Alternative Possibilities for the Realization of Democracy" was held, was a hive of activity. So many people wanted to attend the meeting that neighboring auditoriums had to be opened: Television monitors were set up in these rooms.

The very first speech by one of the MSZMP representatives—Istvan Huszar, a leading figure in the Patriotic People's Front—set the tone of the meeting. The speaker immediately stressed that the existence of different opinions, views, and attitudes does not constitute an anomaly. Hungarian society itself is heterogeneous. This heterogeneity of interests and ideas is not only apparent in the social sphere but also, as a consequence, in the political sphere. The preconditions for pluralism in political life and for reflecting and considering the opinions of all strata and categories of the population are thereby created. At the same time, I. Huszar drew attention to the fact that pluralism becomes a source of social consolidation only when it fulfills integrational, unitary functions.

The question of a coalition, proposed by the MSZMP leadership to all responsible, patriotic forces in the country, was one of the most important issues raised at the meeting.

As it transpired, the Hungarian Democratic Forum is not opposed in principle to the idea of a coalition, although, according to Z. Biro, a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum leadership, a discussion of this subject should have been initiated about 10 years ago; then, perhaps, considerable errors and shortcomings could have been avoided. In the opinion of the forum's representatives, however, there is no real basis for forming a coalition at the present moment. The majority of alternative associations do not yet have a political program, or, even more important, sufficient experience. The Hungarian Democratic Forum insists on early parliamentary elections. The forum's representatives recognize the need for further dialogue with the MSZMP, in whose ranks, in their opinion, the desire to preserve a monopoly on power has yet to be eradicated. Z. Biro stressed that before a coalition is formed, measures must be taken that will make it possible to avoid anarchy.

A question about the situation within MSZMP ranks prompted a lively discussion. Is the party capable of accepting the challenge of the times and giving answers to the questions raised by the modern era? The MSZMP representatives reminded people that the party has found the strength and determination in itself to embark on a path of renewal, democratization, and more far-reaching reforms, as evidenced by the Hungarian National Party Conference held in May 1988. While continuing along the path of democratization, the party is not renouncing its authority—it is merely renouncing the preservation of its monopoly on power by any means. By developing a new concept of socialism and recognizing alternative sociopolitical organizations' right to exist, the party is recognizing their right to criticism and to public control over their activities, as one of the conditions of creating a rule-of-law state.

In my view, the meeting—which was closely followed by television, radio, and the press—has broken the suspicion and mistrust and shown that it is possible to conduct constructive discussions even when there are profound differences of opinion.

BCP Plenum Agenda Centers on Agricultural Reform
PM2601095789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unnamed PRAVDA correspondent dispatch under the "Countries of Socialism: Life of the Fraternal Parties" rubric: "What Will the Countryside Be Like"]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jan—The BCP has mounted broad preparations for the upcoming Central Committee plenum on questions of restructuring in the countryside. Meetings at primary party organizations and sessions and conferences in BCP commune and okrug committees are now discussing this agenda.

The eighties were hard for the Bulgarian countryside. Markets and store shelves suffered considerable scarcities, and sometimes there was a shortage of vegetables, fruit, and livestock products. Vegetable production, for instance, dropped by 250,000 tonnes. Bulgaria was forced to import potatoes for the first time.

Communists and rural workers have pointed out in the course of the preparations for the plenum that the main fault in the existing system—the peasant's alienation from the land and from the means of production—will have to be overcome. The most varied measures have been proposed for this. Some people advocate the complete abolition of the current agrarian-industrial complexes, while others advocate the restoration of the former labor cooperative agricultural units. There have been many disputes over the problems of cooperative activity in the countryside and the use of the team, group, individual, and family contracts.

Bulgarian Communists believe it is the task of the upcoming BCP Central Committee Plenum to carefully gauge party policy in the countryside and play a pivotal role in the latter's development.

Political & Social

Lithuanian Declared State Language

LD2601103689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0944 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Vilnius, 25 Jan [date as received] TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Lithuanian SSR has announced that the Lithuanian language is to be given the status of state language in the republic. A decree to this effect is published in today's newspapers. A similar decision was previously adopted in the Estonian SSR.

The declaration of Lithuanian to be a state language means, above all, that business in state and public bodies will be conducted and laws and other republican acts will be adopted in Lithuanian.

Besides this, the decree notes that citizens without a knowledge of Lithuanian should be provided with service in another language. The language of communication between nationalities in the USSR, where representatives of over a hundred nations and ethnic groups live, is Russian. In the republic, there will be children's preschool institutions and schools providing teaching in the language of the peoples living on the territory of Lithuanian. The use of more than one language is guaranteed in other areas such as publishing books and papers, and in clubs and theaters, etc.

One other decree has been published today: 16 February has been declared a holiday marking the day of the rebirth of the Lithuanian state. On this day in 1918, the act on the independence of Lithuania was adopted.

'Sajudis' Stages Picket Over Draft

LD2601002189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Summary] A public picket was staged today in front of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet building. The picketers said that the draft law for the use of the Lithuanian language as the state language of the republic leaves too great rights for the functioning of the Russian language and, thus, in actual fact make bilingualism legal in the republic.

The picket was staged by the Vilnius city council of the Lithuanian reform movement "Sajudis."

The council plans to hold such pickets every day this week.

Lithuanian Ethnography, Minority Study Viewed

LD1901140789 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 29 Nov 88 p 4

[Letter-to-the-editor by Venantas Maciekus, leading member, Vilnius University Ethnography Club "Ramuva," entitled: "Ethnography: or Areas for Action."]

[Text] The stiffening of social sciences and an exaggerated idealogization which became apparent during the years of stagnation wrought great harm upon Lithuanian ethnography, since they were based on pre-conceived "theories" which had no basis in real facts. "Apostles" of the pseudo-theory for blending nationalities mindful, apparently, of the fact that national traditions and cognition of spiritual culture do not diminish, but strengthen instead, national self-awareness, used groundless administrative interdictions of "idealogization" in preventing ethnographic scientists from researching national culture. Linguists were in the best position under these circumstances since their objective-lanaguage has ties with the past as well as the present. The Lithuanian SSR Society For the Preservation of National Monuments and Ethnography, along with the Institute of Lithuanian Language and Literature of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, have accomplished much for our national culture by organizing expeditions to gather language facts in various rayons (initially to collect place names). Ethnographers and linguists engaged in extensive individual work, also.

Language sections, that had been established under city and rayon branches of the society, also put in some nice efforts, with varying results. However, there remains much work for both professional scientists and ethnographers. In view of wider application of the means of communication, greater population mobility and other causes, it is imperative to document the quickly-vanishing local dialects and sayings and small local place names, which often are recalled only by the eldest members of a community, in order to be able to collect terminology for an academic and science dictionary of the Lithuanian language. In view of the fact that Lithuanian has been granted State language status, linguists will have to expend efforts to organize and update science and technology terminology, improve business writing, and purge the language of Slavic impurities. Only people with professional training, i.e. individuals with Lithuanistic training, can engage in language materials' collection and work in the lanaguage cultural areas. City and rayon sections of the society need to recruit all diploma-holding Lithuanistics specialists to guard the Lithuanian word, and they must hurry to accomplish this while the spring of traditional living language still continues to flow. Along with the dialects, customs—the old depository of folklore—are fast disappearing, as a direct result of forced urbanization and compulsory collectivization, which have interrupted the flow of traditional culture. Those who still had an opportunity to feel its life-giving strength and who recall it in their blood and hearts are

now over 60 years old. This living national memory is becoming weaker everyday. This gives us yet another reason to hurry. Haste must be exercised also in view of the fact that we have already lost about 15 years. To put it delicately, during the period when ethnographers were not encouraged to investigate traditional work and the family calendar (christening, wedding, funeral, etc.), village social customs, or the traditional national reference book (medical, veterinary, meteorological, pedagogical etc..). Neither was the collection of folklore material given much attention.

Every literate individual who has received some special training can collect ethnographic material, and take notes on folklore. The Society needs to locate such people, and provide them with instructional materials and blank forms in order to assist them in preparing for this job. The task is of great importance, since some elements of our cultural traditions go back perhaps 4000 years (the Balts are said to have been among the nations inhabiting that area of Europe the longest, and investigation not only of Lithuanian or Balt, but also of all Indo-European nations in general, is highly important.

During the period of stagnation a fake stamp of some sort of approval was given histories, chronicles and yearbooks of kholkhozes, production enterprises, institutions, schools etc. prepared by ethnographers. It was important, after all, to demonstrate various accomplishments and prizes. As far as existing shortcomings and negative phenomena or tendencies were concerned, it was the custom to describe such with more streamlined phrases—or ignore them totally. The so-called white area in Lithuanian history was a stricly forbidden area. Between 1941 and 1953 because of Hitlerism and Stalinism, Lithuania experienced the greatest drop in population since the plague of 1709-1911; over 100,000 died of starvation or violence, and more than twice that number were deported; the Lithuanian Jews were almost totally annihilated; the losses of other Lithunian minorities (Russians, Poles, Byelorussians, Gypsies) were also considerable. In the absence of archival materials, or else because they are not sufficiently trustworthy, the accounts of authentic eyewitnesses or individuals who had come in contact with them may become the basic source for uncovering the truth.

Several years ago, the party Institute of History Ethnographers collected a considerable volume of material on those Lithuania's residents who died for the Soviet Government and the circumstances of their death; this was accomplished under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Sections of the Society should continue this project, accumulating materials, not only about those fallen Soviet activists, but also about all those who died, or were deported, the reasons for their deportations, and their death circumstances. The 1940 elections to the People's Sejm would make worthy memoirs. Other interesting subjects of research would include: Soviet land reform; the search for social justice; the people's mood during that period; the damage caused the principle of volunteerism while pursuing an objectively just idea of agricultural cooperation during the postwar years; the difficult year experienced by kolkhozes; our countrymen's traditional industriousness; cultivation of koksaghyz; corn cultivation; clover destruction; and other campaigns and their impact on kolkhozes. Also of interest would be the amateur cultural activities up to 1940, the establishment of reader's clubs and libraries, as well as their activities of the post war years. The appearance of houses of culture and their participation in rural cultural life should also be included.

The study of Lithuanian ethnic minorities has been neglected unforgivably. The Jews are probably the oldest ethnic group in Lithuania who managed to maintain its distinctive singularity. The remnants of this Jewish group (in prewar Lithuania the Jews made 8 percent of the total population), having united into one Jewish Cultural Support Fund under the Lithuanian Culture Fund, will apparently be capable of researching their national history and culture. The same course of continuing beautiful early traditions should be followed by the Karaims, people of a very old culture, sparse in numbers, educated, who are also looking to the Cultural Fund. Local Tatars, who appeared in Lithuania possibly 600 years ago, and defended their new country with bravery and self-sacrifice along with the Karaims, with whom they developed vegetable growing, are now waiting for their own researchers. During the upheavals of the centuries they lost their language but have retained their Muslim religion and their unique Eastern traditions and established original leather and fur processing technologies. Representatives of this nation should seek attention of ethnographers from the Alytai, Vilnius, and partly from Ignalina Svencioniai, Zarasai Rayons.

The Old Believer Russians have lived in Lithuania for almost 300 years. They reside mostly in separate villages, and have preserved such elements of Russian traditional culture, and have safeguarded such old book manuals, the like of which one could not find in Russia itself. Sections of the Society should encourage ethnographers, especially those of Russian extraction, to research this ancient culture.

Traditional material and spiritual culture found within Lithuania's Polish and Byelorussian regions is also of interest; according to ethnographers, it is analogical to the culture of highlanders from the Vilnius area or the highlanders from the south—but of a more preserved type.

The culture and language of Lithuania's wanderers, the Gypsies, has been almost totally ignored.

The Lithuanian Society for the Preservation of National Monuments and Ethnography, as indicated by its title, not only organizes ethnographic research, but also protects cultural monuments. The task of Society members is workable, as they guard national art monuments

(small chapels, wayside crosses) from thieves (since state protection is not, as yet, effective); they organize assistance groups for cleaning up the monument areas and for restoring or preserving cultural monuments, utilizing the Society's Fund allocations.

Following the establishment of the Lithuanian Culture Fund and the commencement of its activities, both funds (Culture and Preservation of Cultural Monuments) began to somewhat duplicate each other's activities. Therefore, in my opinion, it would make sense for the Society to turn over its fund and such functions to the Culture Fund; the money which has been earmarked for that purpose should be used for programs designated by the Culture Fund. Following the transfer of the programs, related to the preservation of national monuments and other similar functions, it would be logical for the Society to resume its former name and to be referred to as the Ethnographic Society.

The support rendered by the Society to museums had only been in a methodological capacity, which was insufficient since it lacked experienced museum specialists among its consultants. The Society should search for and discover means and ways of supporting the public museums.

During the period in which the Society was in the process of augmenting its membership, many individuals who had nothing in common with ethnography were accepted at random. In order to raise the Society's prestige, we must seek professionalism among its members; it would be better to have fewer members in number, but better members professionally. The resulting loss in funds could be compensated by a 1-2 ruble increase in membership fees.

'Spotlight' on Estonian Democratic Movement-88

PM2601112189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[From the "Press Spotlight" column]

[Text]

From the "Program of the Estonian Democratic Movement-88"

"...3. To struggle for the Estonian SSR's economic and political sovereignty and independence. All enterprises, institutions, and natural resources must belong to Estonia.

"4. To aim for social justice and abolition of privileges.

"5. To introduce citizenship of the Estonian SSR.

"6. To establish free contacts with the rest of the world in all spheres of life.

"7. To raise the question of the legitimacy of the changes of Estonia's borders in 1945..."

(From VECHERNIY TALLINN, 19 January)

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: We usually publish excerpts from material carried by other publications without comment, but we would like to say a few words at this point. It is—to say the least—strange that the newspaper VECHERNIY TALLINN did not find space to publish an accompanying evaluation of, or at least a comment on this "program." There is obvious need for comment, especially in view of Item No 7. Bearing in mind that the Estonian SSR shares a land border only with the RSFSR and the Latvian SSR, it is perfectly clear that this provision serves no other purpose than the exacerbation of interethnic relations.

Sakharov, Bonner on Gorbachev, Restructuring

AU2601111189 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Jan 89 p 10

[Interview with Andrey Sakharov, Soviet nuclear physicist and human rights activist, and Yelena Bonner, his wife, by French journalist Jean-Pierre Barou in Moscow; date not given]

[Text][Barou] According to the new election law, a Congress of People's Deputies consisting of 2,250 members will be created in March. Two-thirds of the deputies will be elected in general elections. The other third will be appointed from political or social groups....

Sakharov: Let me interrupt you. What you just said represents only an extremely small part of a very complex mechanism containing a large number of traps and hidden aspects that do not make it very democratic. In my view, this new election system has two main faults: The candidates who are proposed for appointment from among the groups are selected in a way that is not democratic or based on formal criteria. On which basis are they selected? I do not know anything about that. I can only point out that the same thing happened last June when delegates were sent to the party conference. We saw that people opposed to progressive ideas such as glasnost were favored and appeared at the party conference. The most important thing, however, is the fact that the elections are taking place on several levels.

[Barou] Are you talking about the Supreme Soviet?

Sakharov: Indeed. Its 400 members, all of whom will come from the Congress of People's Deputies, will elect the president, but we do not know what criteria will be used for electing them. We have now been told that they will be replaced—1/5 of them annually—but we do not know what the criteria are.

Bonner: There is another important point. These 400 apparachiks, whom nobody knows, can remove the president without consulting with the people. The only real

weapon the head of state has is direct elections. What was Gorbachev afraid of? We would have voted for him. Our country has no other leader. He has deprived himself of the defense by the people. I personally believe that he will be overthrown soon, together with all those in the country who have believed in perestroyka. I would not stake R100 on Gorbachev.

Sakharov: They will overthrow him, or they will dictate which views he should hold. I have been saying this ever since I returned from the West. Gorbachev is annoyed by the fact that I ever condemned the election system. People told me so. However, I do not at all understand the logic of his criticism. He was seized by a kind of rage that I find totally incomprehensible.

[Barou] Are the people—and I mean not only the intellectuals—interested in this debate?

Sakharov: Yes, but they are demonstrating wisdom. We cannot foresee material success for perestroyka.

[Barou] People talk a lot about that ....

Sakharov: However, the people are not just interested in material goods. They want the lies to stop, but the lies still exist. During this period of transition, we are trying to find a way to move up, but we will have to wait and see.

[Barou] Do you believe that military or diplomatic secrets could be less important? Could there be an opening in this respect within the framework of glasnost?

Sakharov: I think that there are only a few true secrets. In my view, the fewer secrets there are, the better it will be for worldwide stability. Therefore, I think that spy satellites are a factor promoting peace and confidence. If we know other countries and our potential enemies better, the world will be more secure. The term military or diplomatic secret should be abolished.

[Barou] Could you be considered to be the leader of the democratic opposition in the Soviet Union today?

Sakharov: I do not think that I could ever have been characterized as a leader. I have never tried to represent anyone other than myself. My position changes in response to changes in conditions.

[Barou] How do you assess perestroyka at the present stage?

Sakharov: I think that it is absolutely necessary, that we have no other solution. However, this does not include having to unconditionally support Gorbachev, even if the whole process has been started at his initiative. By the way, it would not be fair to link perestroyka 100 percent with his name. Gorbachev can be subject to pressure, he can have other ideas. Restructuring must be supported in general—without fear of insulting any particular person. It is important for everyone to understand that cooperation with the West is only possible on the basis of a progressive development of perestroyka. This is what is being announced officially, but the question is becoming increasingly complex and contradictory. In my view setbacks have already occurred. I do not agree either with the electoral law or with the law on the dispersion of assemblies and rallies. I do not agree with the arrest of members of the Karabakh Committee and the detention of Pulatov, an activist from Azerbaijan—even if I do not like him because he has advocated violence.

[Barou] You recently visited Armenia together with your wife and the vice president of the Academy of Sciences. What were the circumstances?

Sakharov: When I returned from the United States, I was very concerned about the fate of the Armenians. I paid a visit to Aleksandr Yakovlev, who must have told Gorbachev about my visit. They suggested to me that I tour the region. There is no doubt that they thought I would arrive at a more positive assessment on the spot. In Armenia we made a tour with a helicopter. What I saw there was far worse than I had expected. First, there were the massacres in Sumgait in November; everybody was shocked about the local mafia, which diverts R10 million to the underground economy every year. There is no doubt that it also has links with the police and the KGB. Sumgait—to cite just one example—is only 20 minutes away from Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan. If the authorities really wanted to, they could control this area. This is what makes me angry. A pregnant woman was raped there and burned alive; her belly was slit open and the fetus was thrown into the middle of the street. An Armenian family was sieged for 3 days, and then one of its members was also burned alive. Crowds chanted in Baku: "Aliyev, thank you for the weapons (Geydar Aliyev was removed from his post in 21 October 1987. He was a member of the Politburo and head of the KGB in Azerbaijan—the editors). In any case, developments had reached a point where the mafia controlled everything. I saw a young girl in Baku who had pinned a portrait of Khomeyni on her scarf. Religious fanatism also played a role. In Armenia, however, it was of little importance. If a mafia exists there, it is certainly less important. A rather democratic movement exists there.

[Barou] Did you suffer setbacks as a member of the "Memorial" movement, which is concerned with the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism?

Sakharov: "Memorial's" goal is to establish a documentation and research center which is devoted to the victims of Stalinism, and which is also intended as a public library. We have opened an account with the Gosbank for donations from the public. When the members of the "Memorial" movement went to the bank they were told on the orders of Yudin, who is responsible for cultural matters, that they no longer have access to the account. He had also given orders that the money be

used for the erection of a monument for the victims of Stalinism, he pointed out. "Is this not what you want?" we were asked by the Central Committee. I was summoned to the Central Committee, and there I recognized a militant activist of the nationalist "Pamyat" movement. However, we will certainly continue our activities.

[Barou] Let us talk about the current problem of Jews in the USSR...

Andrey Sakharov turns to Yelena Bonner (his wife is of Jewish origin): "Yelena, are refuseniks still being arrested? are they still being dismissed from their jobs without prior notice?

Bonner: Not according to my knowledge.

[Barou] But are there still not many refuseniks who are not permitted to leave the USSR?

Sakharov: I believe that the number has considerably decreased. However, there are still some, and the legislation has not been changed yet. It is important for the standard to be the same as in Western legislation. If this is achieved, the refusenik issue will lose importance. By the way, in order to emigrate several of them are trying to find secret ways to withdraw from professional life; many of them are living on their savings and from the help of others.

Bonner: In general, one may leave the country today. Psychologically, in this respect, the situation has changed. The authorities do not have such a negative attitude toward the refuseniks or all the others who want to emigrate. Rather, it is the Western world that is the problem. Except for the United States, the developed countries do not have a real asylum policy. The Americans have to support it all. At the moment, a large number of emigrants is stuck in Italy—the United States cannot grant the refugee status to everyone. It cannot be reproached with insisting on a contingent of immigrants. At the Vienna (CSCE) conference people are talking about nothing but the absence of the right to emigration in our country. The other developed countries should first do their homework! Not even a dissident as famous as Yuriy Orlov, who is living in France at present, can get the French citizenship! In the West, brains work the wrong way. For example, nobody thinks of saying to Mikhail Gorbachev: "Destroy the Berlin Wall!"

[Barou] You have been saying and writing for a long time that an individual's freedom of movement and freedom of choice in residence is the cornerstone of human rights.

Sakharov: Thus, the situation has developed, priorities are no longer the same. I concede that the freedom of assembly is ranking first now. All groups that have been unofficial so far and whose membership is increasing must be able to find their place in our society. Today, the question of collective rights is more topical for the individual than that of personal rights.

[Baru] Would you call the concept of the rule of law the magic term in new Soviet thinking?

Sakharov: The establishment of the rule of law is justified by our history in which man has been the victim of dictatorship by the state. However, the law has to protect man from the excesses of the state, the crowd, the masses, and the mass media and give preference to a pluralist society. And if a society is pluralist—in other words, not totalitarian—it will watch over moral principles.

[Barou] In the Soviet Union, much tribute has been paid to Lenin lately.

Sakharov: Gorbachev talks about it a lot. He says that we are renewing the ideas of Lenin's epoch. In reality, we are establishing something completely different because we are not returning to Lenin's epoch. Impossible. When there is an interesting development today, one can predict a mind set which reminds me of "Solaris," a science fiction novel by Stanislav Lem where the images in people's brains are bathed in a terrible orange color. I mention this to express the idea that I am not very happy about the situation. However, I repeat: Perestroyka is our only choice, and nobody knows what lies in store for us.

Bonner: However, one does not talk much about Khrushchev to whom we owe everything that we now have: fair pay for the kolkhoz peasants work; a housing policy; our pension system; the first actual reduction of troop strength in the history of the USSR.

Sakharov: When Khrushchev reduced the importance of the Army he was taking a great risk. This is why he was overthrown. However, thanks to him we have made a giant leap forward compared to 1953.

[Barou] Something else that needs to be pointed out: The West does not always have a clear idea of the political prisoners.

Sakharov: To my knowledge there are no more prisoners of conscience according to Articles 70 and 190 of criminal law, which refer to deeds that are regarded as anti-Soviet. However, the imprisonment of members of the Karabakh Committee has to be regarded as a setback. The problem of people being sent to psychiatric institutions has not been fully solved yet. There are also reports of arrests where certain articles of the criminal law were applied that concern criminal acts that had nothing to do with that specific case.

[Barou] It seems that you are not too enthusiastic about holding a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991?

Sakharov: The West has to continue exerting pressure on the USSR, at least until the international human rights conference in Moscow to prevent it from taking place if the situation in the USSR is not really satisfactory.

Sakharov, Yeltsin Nominations 'Democratic' Victory
LD2601144989 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Passions are running high in the current election campaign in this country, aimed at forming a new supreme body of government, the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies. [passage omitted] More from Yuriy Rogachev. [passage omitted]

[Rogachev] Positive features of the new election system are manifested in the opportunities it created for a true expression of voters' will. Among its minuses is an opportunity to disregard that will. Otherwise it's impossible to explain the fact that the world-famous scientist and public figure Dr Andrey Sakhrov, who had been nominated candidate by nearly 60 institutes, failed to receive support at a full-scale meeting of the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The academy leadership ignored the opinion of many thousands of scientists. Indeed, before the policy of perestroyka, some 3 to 4 years ago, it would have been impossible to imagine Andrey Sakharov being nominated a candidate. At the time he was an exile in the city of Gorkiy, on the Volga River. Maybe old stereotypes were behind the academy decision, when the majority of its leadership rejected Dr Sakharov's candidacy, but the democratic character of the new election system has won a victory over old stereotypes, because immediately after his failure at the academy, Dr Sakharov was nominated a candidate from the Moscow City District.

The democratic character of the new election system was also manifested in nominating such a controversial public figure as Boris Yeltsin. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Says Political Prisoners List 'Biased'
LD2601003489 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] A spokesman for the Soviet Procurator General's office, (Vladimir Andreyev), has said the list of Soviet political prisoners drawn up in the United States, Denmark, Sweden, and Spain is strongly biased.

Recent checks have established that the list includes people who have never been imprisoned or who have been released or sentenced for nonpolitical crimes.

The spokesman added that beginning in 1986, no one has been convicted for anti-Soviet propaganda, a clause previously applied. This clause is soon to be excluded from Soviet law.

Outline of Issues Discussed at Politburo 24 Jan
LD2501181189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held 24 January [date as heard] discussed issues relating to the preparation and holding of a CPSU Central Committee plenum on party agrarian policy. The Politburo examined a number of issues concerning the preparation for the elections of the USSR people's deputies. It noted the great importance of the active participation of CPSU candidates in the electoral campaign for people's deputies and their meetings in party organizations and labor collectives with the party aktiv. These meetings should be of an informal nature and should be part of a comprehensive discussion of the vital issues of party policy in light of the CPSU Central Committee's address to the party and Soviet people.

The Politburo discussed the situation in the Belorussian SSR and other regions of the country that were affected by radioactive contamination following the accident at the Chernobyl AES. It was noted that in the Belorussian SSR a considerable number of operations had been carried out to create safe conditions for the population's life and work. Over the period that has passed nearly 900 million has been spent for those purposes. Over 720,000 sq m of housing and about 400 social, cultural, and public facilities have been built and commissioned for the population that was evacuated. It was noted that a lot of work was carried out in other regions, too. The resolution adopted on this issue instructed central economic organs, ministries and departments, with the participation of local party and soviet organizations, to take additional measures to further carry out the various operations to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. It was envisaged to allocate the necessary means and material and technical resources for these purposes as a matter of priority. The governmental commission for the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and Comrade Shcherbina were requested to ensure the implementation of the measures mapped out for that purpose.

The Politburo examined the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the tripartite commission, eminent political figures from the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. Satisfaction was expressed with the content of the conversation that took place, which confirms the growing interest of the Western public in the processes of restructuring in our country and shows the availability of favorable prerequisites for developing cooperation in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking.

The Politburo heard Comrade Gorbachev's information on the messages he has received from Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, through Ayatollah Javadi- 'Amoli, his personal envoy, which confirms Iran's adherence to maintaining goodneighborly relations with the Soviet Union, and the results of the conversation that took place. It was noted that the fact that the Iranian leader has sent the message is a good sign in the development of Soviet- Iranian relations. All the conditions exist for the Soviet Union and Iran to live always in peace, like good neighbors, and to cooperate actively and mutually profitably with each other in the most various spheres.

The situation that is taking shape around the settlement in Afghanistan, including due account of the results of Comrade Shevardnadze's working visit to Kabul, was discussed at the meeting.

It was noted that commonality exists in the methods of approach the two countries take toward unblocking the situation in and around Afghanistan. The Soviet Union is prepared to assist in the future in the organization of an inter-Afghan dialogue with a view to setting up a broad based government in Afghanistan. It was stressed that the attempts by a number of opposition groups and certain governments behind them to impose a continuation of the war and bloodshed on the Afghan people and to disorganize economic life in Afghanistan run counter to the Afghans' fundamental interests and are fraught with the risk of dragging out the instability in Afghanistan and in the whole region. The international public and all friends of the Afghan people must resolutely foil these designs.

The Soviet Union will remain true to its obligations under the Geneva Accords and to the cause of strengthening friendship, cooperation, and goodneighborliness with Afghanistan.

The results of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE member states were examined. It was noted that the agreement in Vienna to a weighty final document, together with the mandate for talks on conventional armed forces in Europe in March, demonstrates the effectiveness of the new realistic methods of approach toward international affairs. As regards the nature and scale of the accord reached, the Vienna meeting marks an undeniable success of the restructuring line in international and domestic affairs and of the new thinking taking root. The decision to hold the Moscow humanitarian conference in 1991 has become one more expression of international trust in the restructuring that is taking place in our country.

The Politburo approved the activities of the Soviet delegation, headed by Comrade Shevardnadze, at the Paris Conference on banning chemical weapons. The task has been set, relying on the useful results of this forum, to step up work along all channels with a view to concluding in the very near future an international convention on banning the development, production, stockpiling, and use of all kinds of chemical weapons, and on destroying them.

Study Commission Reports on Repression Issues

LD2601120889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] A report has come in today about a routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for the additional study of material relating to the repressions which took place during the thirties, forties, and early fifties. The commission heard the USSR Supreme Court information on the examination of material relating to the rehabilitation of persons involved in the so-called case of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. It was set up during the Great Patriotic War and carried out active work toward mobilizing public opinion against the crimes of fascism. At the end of 1948 the committee was disbanded and a large group of people arrested. The groundless accusations of state crimes and spying activity served as the pretext for the repressive measures. In July 1952, the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court condemned the committee leaders to the supreme penalty or to lengthy prison terms. Three years later it was established that the accusations against the participants in the Jewish anti-fascist committee were fabricated.

In November 1955, the USSR Supreme Court revoked the sentences with respect to all those convicted in this case. At this same time, Comrades Lozoviskiy, (Shefer), (Yazikhovich), Kvitko, Markish, (Teyumin), (Bresman), posthumously, and Shtern were reinstated in the CPSU. At the time, the results of the judicial and party rehabilitation were not made public. For this reason, the commission acknowledged the necessity of publishing this information. Cognizance has been made of the decision by the CPSU Central Committee Committee for Party Control on posthumous restoration to the party of Comrades (Shemeliovich) and (Goptshteyn). The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for the study of material relating the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties is continuing its work.

Recent Hijack Attempts Detailed

LD2601155989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1501 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow 26 Jan (TASS)—In the last few days there have been two attempts by air pirates to hijack Soviet planes, IZVESTIYA reported today.

On 20 January, a Tu-134 aircraft which was flying from Arkhangelsk to Odessa via Kiev made a turn over the Black Sea and prepared to land. At that moment, one of the passengers, who was sitting in a rear seat, told the flight attendant to order the crew to change course for Bucharest or Israel, saying he would blow up the plane if this were not done. The plane's commander promised the stranger that he would carry out his demands once the plane had refuelled at Odessa airport.

After the landing, militiamen headed for the gangway to talk to the criminal. After climbing on board, one of the militiamen suggested that the passengers should be allowed off the plane, while he remained as a hostage. The hijacker agreed. The militiamen spent 2 long hours as a hostage.

The air pirate, who was arrested, is N. Kotsyuban, 36, of Akhtyrka, Sumy Oblast. He is on the treatment register of a psychiatric hospital.

A day later another attempted hijack of an airplane was foiled in Ivano-Frankovsk. An AN-24 taking the route from Ivano-Frankovsk to Kiev had just started to taxi onto the runway when a passenger stood up, went to the tail of the aircraft, lit a homemade torch and demanded the plane change course and fly abroad. The aircraft stopped. The young man was seized by a hostess, some passengers, and one of the pilots. The fire, which had started in the seating area of the airliner, was put out within a minute. Two passengers and a pilot suffered minor burns.

The arrestee was one S. Zemskov. He is 34 years old and lives in the town of Kopeysk in Chelyabinsk Oblast. Criminal proceedings have also been instigated in this case.

Article 213, Paragraph 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code provides for punishment for hijacking of an aircraft in the form of deprivation of liberty for a term between 3 and 15 years, while the penalty can go as far as death in cases that involve people dying or suffering grievous bodily harm.

Reportage on Aftermath of Tajikistan Earthquake

Commission Holds News Conference

LD2501173989 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Dushanbe January 25 TASS—Material damage inflicted by the earthquake in Tajikistan, Central Asia, has exceeded 15 million rubles. It involved tremendous loss of life. According to the specified information, the number of casualties is not 1,000, as preliminary reports said, but 274. This was reported today at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists by Izatullo Khaeev, chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers and head of the emergency government commission.

Khaeev said that 75 people had been put to hospital in Dushanbe and Gissar. Seventeen of them had been discharged by tonight. Eight people are in a grave condition and are under observation of Moscow and Dushanbe medics.

The head of the Tajik Government pointed out that the most important task for today was to ensure provisional accommodation for the homeless families. They were put in mobile wagons, shepherds' dwellings, yurts and warm tents. Some of the people were taken in by relatives. The republican government, the Red Cross Society and Tajik trade unions allocated large sums of money for the quake-stricken villages and sent relief supplies there. The construction of three large villages will soon be started in the disaster area.

Khaeev said that governments of the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and other union republics were rendering extensive assistance to them. He expressed gratitude to Soviet public organisations for the money, medicinal preparations and food sent to Tajikistan. The Tajik people highly appreciated a noble initiative of a number of foreign countries which offered their help.

Ministers in charge of construction, public health and social security, as well as seismologists, answered questions of Soviet and foreign journalists. The news conference was addressed by Kahor Mahkkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, and Akbar Zakharov, chief qadi [judje] of the republic.

Damage 'Triggered' by Complacency

PM2501130189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondent O. Latifi dispatch: "Gissar Hit. Our Correspondent Reports from the Disaster Area"]

[Text] Tajik SSR—Grief and trouble have burst into thousands of homes in Tajikistan. Yesterday at 0202 hours Moscow time an enormous force which had built up at great depth on the Elakskiy fault erupted. The force of the underground tremor measured 7 points at the epicenter.

Sharor, Okuli-Poyen, Karapuchak, and Okuli-Bolo villages suffered most. The destruction caused by the force-7 underground tremor was exacerbated by two gigantic landslides which engulfed these settlements. A third of Sharor village was buried by a 15-meters-deep landslip in which hundreds of people perished. At Okuli-Olo village 70 people were buried by a landslip. Preliminary estimates put the number of casualties as high as 1,000. Enormous damage has been inflicted on the area's economy—its extent is being ascertained by a Tajik government emergency commission. Dozens of kilometers of roads and communication lines have been destroyed. Thousands of head of livestock have been buried.

Rescue teams from Dushanbe and neighboring rayons are working in the stricken area. Powerful equipment—excavators, bulldozers, and mobile cranes—are arriving. Local authorities are taking steps to provide earthquake victims with medical assistance, food, and temporary shelter.

Together with S. Nigmatullayev, president of the republic Academy of Sciences and director of the Tajik Institute of Seismically Resistant Construction and Seismology, I hurry to the disaster area. Ambulances are racing past us in the opposite direction. Casualties are being taken to hospitals in Dushanbe and in Gissarskiy and nearby Leninskiy Rayons. The roads are jammed with vehicles, cranes, and bulldozers. I. Khayeyev, chairman of the republic council of ministers, is directing the rescue effort. G. Pulatova, republic minister of health, was one of the first to arrive in the stricken area.

Thousands of volunteers are digging with shovels and picks. Servicemen and the militia are doing what they can to help in the rescue effort.

Immediately after the tremors, a landslide buried Sharor village and a large part of Kuli-Poyen, Okuli-Bolo, and Yakumimay settlements was engulfed by masses of liquid loess. It has submerged whole streets. Only a few people managed to get out of the houses buried by the landslides.

G. Koshlakov, first deputy chairman of the republic council of ministers, reports that more than 400 houses were destroyed—100 of them completely buried. Milkmaids on morning shift at a livestock unit in the area perished. A nursery for 320 children and a secondary school were destroyed. Many kilometers of telephone lines, power lines, and large and small irrigation systems have been put out of commission. Many economic installations and public buildings have suffered major damage. After all, many local buildings are made of clay.

The scale of the catastrophe has still not been determined.

How many times have tragedies like this one occurred in earthquake-prone zones? And again specialists and scientists are talking about their causes. It is true that the vagaries of the underground forces are not yet predictable. But there are causes that have been triggered by man's activity. Heavy snow fell in January and a sharp rise in temperature caused an intensive thaw. To make matters worse, there is a canal in the vicinity whose walls are unlined. And although there was no water in the canal, there was a lot of soft, water-logged silt. The underground tremors set great masses of loess in motion and buried settlements. There is a danger of more landslides in similar locations should there be further tremors.

Just as on previous occasions, it has again been confirmed that we are complacent about construction and its quality, especially in rural areas. Questions of seismic resistance are all but ignored here.

This has given rise to many questions. Long-term forecasts which define earthquake-prone regions must be heeded. According to scientists' opinion this information should be subjected to expert assessments, for instance at the level of the Gosplan. Subsequently measures should be adopted on the basis of these data and their implementation should be strictly enforced. This means above all listing all structures and evaluating their condition. The demolition, where necessary, of dilapidated structures, the reconstruction and reinforcement of existing ones, and, of course, high-standard construction of new ones must be ensured. Another vital issue is the need to review the functions and tasks of civil defense in earthquake-prone zones. How can we teach the population to carry out evacuation and organize rescue operations? These questions are begging for an answer.

The time has come, finally, to launch a series of operations to ensure short-term forecasts, follow the course of the development of seismic events, and be able to forecast them in advance.

The Gissar geophysical observatory, of international standing, is located not far away from the disaster area. What is the attitude to this observatory? Despite the seismologists' repeated requests, no permanent contact with the observatory has yet been established.

We write and we call on the leadership of the Gissar sector of the Leninskiy network region, but so far in vain, observatory director B. Baryshev told us.

The geophysical observatory in Karasu is not operational either, to supply the capital and the surrounding area with reliable information. To put it bluntly: According to the long-term forecast an earthquake was expected to occur in the disaster area. However, until the necessary network is in place, scientists cannot predict when exactly it will happend. Yet safety measures can and must be taken. The present tragedy is another reminder of this.

...It is late at night. The rescue effort continues in the disaster area. People made homeless have been biletted in the houses of neighbors, friends, relatives, or acquaintances. Medical stations and other essential services are operating.

26 Jan Tremor Causes No Damage

LD2601060389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0552 GMT 26 Jan 89

["Tajikistan—Another Subterranean Tremor"—TASS headline]

[Text] Dushanbe, 26 Jan (TASS)—At 0211 local time/2311 Moscow time [2000 GMT] today the subterranean elements showed themselves here again. The eipicenter of the earthquake, according to data from the Dushanbe seismic station, was 25 km southwest of Dushanbe. The force of the underground tremor at the epicenter was 5 degrees on the 12-degree scale. In Dushanbe city it was 3 degrees; in the rayon centers of Gissar and Leninskiy it was 3 to 4 degrees. There are no deaths or destruction.

Armenia Sends Relief Aid

NC2601120489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The Armenian people have extended a hand of friendship to their Tajik brothers. [words indistinct], clothing and tents for the earthquake victims have been

sent from Yerevan to Dushanbe. [word indistinct] a special brigade of volunteers, headed by Armed Tatevosyan, deputy director of the republic's students' front, also left for the area. The brigade consists of (?50) members, most of whom are students of the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute. It also includes rescuers from the republic's Red Cross who have [word indistinct] everything possible to work autonomously on the spot.

These young people have recently participated in the [word indistinct] of the Spitak ruins, said Tatevosyan. Their [word indistinct] working under difficult conditions [words indistinct] will be valuable in the remote areas of Tajikistan and personally (?I believe) that a similar experience [words indistinct] and fulfill our duty as citizens and as human beings.

Ceausescu Sends Condolences

LD2501135189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0907 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Jan (TASS)—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania, has sent a telegram of condolences to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Romanian people, and myself personally, it says, I express to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presdium, Communists, and all Soviet working people our deep sympathy and solidarity at this moment of severe trial caused by the considerable human and material losses incurred as a result of the earthquake in the Tajik SSR.

We convey our deep sympathy to the grieving families.

New Tajik Foreign Minister Appointed

LD2501174289 Dushanbe TOJIKSTONI SOVETI in Tadzhik 8 Jan 89 p 1

[Summary] The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet has passed a decree relieving Comrade U.G. Usmanov, vice-chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, from the additional post of foreign minister of the Tajik SSR. The presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet appointed Comrade Lakim Kayumov as the Tajik foreign minister.

Baku Military Commandant Notes Curfew Violations

NC2601110589 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Notice from the military commandant of Baku City Special District]

[Text] During the past 24 hours the situation in the city has remained without material change. Some minor violations that occurred were dealt with on the spot. For violating the curfew 80 persons have been detained.

The Internal Affairs Department reports that criminal proceedings are being instituted against Albert Ardashovich Grigoryan and Rosa Karapetovna Khachaturyan for profiteering in alcoholic drinks. Neither is employed anywhere. During a search of Khachaturyan's residence, 16 liters of spirits, R10,870 in currency, and 13 different articles made of gold were discovered and confiscated.

Nuriyev, Sapunov, and Mamedov, all students in the ninth class of Secondary School 102, and Zeynalov, a student at the Kazakhskiy Rayon Technical College, have been detained for stealing a Moskvich 413, license plate number Y03-02-AG. Criminal proceedings are being instituted against them.

Criminal proceedings are also being instituted against Mardirosov, a student at Technical College 16, and Samedov, a student at Secondary School 39, for attempting to perpetrate a theft from a VAZ-2106, license plate number A62-7-KSH.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of Baku City Special District.

Azerbaijan Central Committee Discusses Immigrants

LD2501211289 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 8 Jan 89 p 1

[Excerpts] At the extended meeting of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held 4 January, the question on "practical measures concerning strengthening work with immigrants" was comprehensively discussed. A.KH. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, read a report.

In connection with the joint appeal of the Communist Party Central Committees of Azerbaijan and Armenia and the supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to those who left their work places—which was published in the press—party, soviet, and economic bodies and public organizations in the republic were instructed to pay the maximum amount of attention and concern to immigrants in their temporary places of residence, to create the necessary cultural and living conditions, and to carry out individual explanatory work with those who had to leave their native homes. Supplementary measures were established to help immigrants return to Armenia and Azerbaijan. Plenipotentiaries of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers who are in charge of rayons where immigrants have gathered were confirmed. The relevant instructions were given to ministries, departments, and raykoms. [passage omitted]

Armenian, Azeri Procurators Set Up Joint Group

NC2601081589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] A conference of heads of the procuracies of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's has been held in the republic's procuracy. It was attended by Nazaryan, the

procurator of the Armenian SSR; Ismaylov, the procurator of the Azerbaijan SSR; (Titov), the assistant to the USSR procurator general; members of the collegium; and officials from the procuracies of both republics. At the meeting it was decided to establish a coordination council consisting of representatives of the procuracies of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's to be headed by the procurators of the two republics.

The efforts of the procuracy organs of both republics will be directed at the discontinuance of interethnic legal actions and at the return of refugees to their places of permanent residence. The most decisive measures will be taken against persons who permit and connive in the eviction and departure of people on national grounds and, in particular, in their illegal dismissal from work. Every such case will be given the severest political and legal assessment.

Transcaucasus Activ Considers Armenian Quake
PM2601120189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel P. Mulyar: "Deriving Lessons"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the party and economic aktiv of the Transcaucasus Military District has been held in Tbilisi to discuss the tasks of the command and political cadres, political organs, and party organizations in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia. [passage omitted]

The party aktiv conference was addressed by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Army General B. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Rear Services; Colonel General N. Chekov, USSR deputy defense minister for construction and the billeting of troops; and Fleet Admiral A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Taking part in the work of the aktiv were D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; A. Bezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; and O. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

Armenia Quake Commission on Rail, Supply Neglect
PM2601111389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission. Action, Not Words Needed"]

[Text] Most of the 80,000 Armenian schoolchildren who remained for various reasons in the quake-hit cities, worker settlements, and villages of the republic have now returned to school. However, not all the children who live in the disaster zone have resumed their studies. There are several thousand of them. A complex of measures to ensure that all children of school age continue the academic year without fail by early February was examined at the latest working session of the CSPU Central Committee Politburo commission chaired 24 January by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission once again discussed the performance of railroad workers. They have to increase freight volumes sharply over the next 2 years. Whereas before the republic annually imported an average of approximately 12.5 million tonnes of freight, this year the "ceiling" will be raised to 25 million tonnes and next year to 33 million tonnes of freight.

Unfortunately, at present senior Ministry of Railways personnel are more occupied in drawing up forward plans. These are, of course, necessary, but it is high time they were concretized and taken to the people who are to execute them, so as not to delay that execution. There must be constant monitoring of the very latest situation in railroad transport. A group of USSR People's Control Committee personnel who checked the work of the Transcaucasus Railroad Yerevan Branch revealed cases of disorganization on the part of its workers and a negligent atittude to official duties.

How can one account for the fact that freightcar unloading on the night shift is now 6 percent lower than last year's level? Shipments from within the republic of the sand, ballast, and tuff that the construction workers working in the disaster zone need so badly are increasing too slowly.

No fewer than 2,000 freightcars need to be unloaded every day now in order to fulfill the outlined programs. However, only perhaps 1,600-1,700 freightcars can be unloaded daily. The reason is that the daily target is not planned very accurately, it is clearly too low, and the system of bonuses and other incentives has not been fully thought out.

The commission demanded a change in the plan targets in accordance with present needs.

The session examined progress in fulfilling the program for providing cities and settlements in the north of Armenia witih vital services. It was deemed necessary to deliver no fewer than 3,000 thermal huts to the population in the near future.

Measures were elaborated to provide work by 21 March for all inhabitants of the disaster areas who are still unemployed. The speakers pointed out that bus transportation and the water supply have been competely restored and the work of health service, trade, and consumer service facilities is being organized.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to allocate the first areas for mass housing development in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak. At the same time it was stressed that exploration work must be considerably speeded up, as must the compilation of seismic zoning maps and plans for the general development of population centers. The time for discussion is over. It is not words but concrete actions that are needed today.

Arutyunyan Addresses Yerevan City Communists

PM2501115789 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 Jan 89 pp 1-2

["Speech by S.G. Arutyunyan, First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, at a Report and Election Conference of the Yerevan City Party Organization on 7 January 1989"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrades! A great deal of crucial work lies ahead. The main thing now is to create a healthy moral atmosphere in the city. We have discussed this during recent meetings with the working people of Yerevan. People have expressed the firm belief that the situation in the city is getting back to normal—things will be starting up again.

We have lived through a painful year full of drama. The capital of the republic has been shaken by endless rallies and demonstrations, strikes and hunger strikes.

We have come up against a serious crisis in the economic, social, and ideological-moral spheres. The sharp exacerbation of interethnic relations is a source of great alarm in political respects.

The complexity of the situation lies in the fact that the city party organization arrived at today's crisis when it had already noticeably lost its political influence among the masses. The working people's alienation from party and soviet bodies has been contributed to by the buildup of social discontent and people's strong resentment at violations of the principle of social justice, cronyism, and serious deformations in cadre policy.

All these difficult, complex issues have been superimposed on the very serious problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. The resulting complex and unusual situation has been exploited by forces which not only have failed to contribute to solving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, but, on the contrary, have driven it into an impasse, inflamed passions, and tried to incite people to unlawful actions to plunge the republic into chaos.

Political adventurists from the so-called "Karabakh" Committee have balked at nothing: They have circulated disinformation and slander, persecuted dissenters as "traitors to the nation," put pressure on deputies, organized pickets at plant entrances, and blockaded administrative buildings. They have threatened some party and soviet leaders, called for party and Komsomol membership cards to be destroyed, and have advanced antisocialist, anti-Russian slogans.

Irresponsible people have resorted increasingly actively to single-minded antistate actions, and incited immature people to the incident at Zvartnots Airport. The situation even reached the stage of stockpiling explosives, manufacturing grenades, and giving ultimatum-type warnings on the start of mass terror.

All this has led to an extremely dangerous buildup of feeling. Clashes with forces responsible for keeping public order were provoked in Yerevan recently. In some regions of the republic where the population is mixed, conflicts have arisen on interethnic grounds, and people have been killed and injured. The tragedy of many families who have abandoned their homes is on the conscience of antirestructuring forces. Their provocative activity did not even stop at the time of the national calamity. There were political demagogues who, fearing they might lose their influence over the masses, and particularly over young people, circulated all manner of rumors and conjectures, and resurrected their inflammatory calls for a strike. Surely this is blasphemy?

We now find ourselves at an extremely dangerous point. And if we do not stop, think, and shake off this confrontational outlook, the future is threatened with the loss of much that has been achieved during the years of Soviet power.

We must have a clear picture of the dividing line between the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and the provocative intrigues of the leaders of the self-styled "Karabakh" Committee. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh does exist. A political solution is being sought. But through compromise—not through confrontation.

We must also be aware of something else. The politically aberrant escapades in Yerevan have been possible because of serious shortcomings in the organizational and political work of party organizations. Party, soviet, and Komsomol bodies have lacked the political maturity and ability to work in a complex, contradictory, and extreme situation. They have been unable to achieve a radical breakthrough in improving the moral and political climate in labor collectives and academic institutions or to rally and consolidate all strata of the population on the basis of internationalism and revolutionary restructuring in the name of the Armenian people's highest interests. The city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations have proved incapable of conducting frank arguments with opponents in unusual, often sharply conflictual terms or of investigating worsening problems in good time and giving thought to their solution without bringing the situation to a point of crisis. Finding themselves in an extreme situation, many of our cadres have simply lost their heads or shown their political unreliability.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has recently adopted a series of fundamental resolutions containing a clearly conceived mechanism for stabilizing the situation in the republic and normalizing interethnic relations on a democratic, constitutional basis. However, these important documents have failed to become the basis for a decisive breakthrough in the work of either the party gorkom or the party raykoms.

A serious oversight in the city party organization's work has been its superficial attitude toward work with the intelligentsia: writers, scientists, people in the arts world, professors, and teachers. This has affected the latter's political and civic stand. The intelligentsia's influence on the formation of public opinion is great, although in recent months it has often proved harmful, proceding as it has from politically immature people.

Where are our well-known figures whose words carry authority among the masses and who are capable of defending genuine party stands, the ideas of restructuring, and the real interests of the Armenian people? Who, if not the party gorkom, should have roused all healthy forces of our intelligentsia and focused their attention on solving the most important task—the real renewal of every aspect of our lives?

The republic, like the whole of our country, is now mobilizing material and human resources to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake as quickly as possible. In these conditions the maximum effort is demanded of Communists and all working people in the capital. [passage omitted]

Daily Disappointed by Armenian Nationalists

PM2401102189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 4

[Special correspondents O. Dmitriyeva and A. Novikov article under the rubric "Topic for Reflections": "Lessons of Armenia"]

[Text] My friend is Armenian, I am Russian. We have plenty to talk about.

"Oh," my friend said, "once you have declared your love, you will be held responsible!"

"How do you mean?"

"You will have to declare it again."

"And if I've fallen out of love?"

"Then you're a traitor."

"But why?"

"Why did you fall in love in the first place?"

(From Andrey Bitov's book of the same title)

Yerevan-Spitak-Moscow—We are returning to events that occurred more than a month ago so that now the initial impressions and emotions have cooled down, we can see what the lessons of Armenia are.

...It was the 13th day after the earthquake. That is the starting point, there can be no other one now—or so we thought. "It is also the 10th day after the arrest of the 'Karabakh' Committee leaders, and the 9th day after the disappearance of Ashot Manucharyan, when a demonstration was broken up; did you know that?" we were asked.

There you are. Confusion. There is, apparently, another starting point. An obsession—let us call things by their proper names—which remains unabated even after the tragedy of the earthquake. The expected easing of tension did not happen. The nerves of public awareness are strained as painfully as "before."

Why?

Why did the dozens of people with whom we spoke—and dozens no longer represent individual views, they represent public opinion—say that their anguish had not been shared? Why had they retained their ideas of "us" and "them" even in this terrible calamity that was common to us all? Why was the white flag of truce not unfurled as expected? Why did the facts about events occurring around the Karabakh movement continue stubbornly to bifurcate so that two versions—an official one and a home-grown one—coexisted in people's minds like parallel lines in Euclidean geometry?

"When the 'Vremya' program starts talking about Armenia, my 16-year-old son switches the television off," we were told by Zhanna Nadzharyan, laboratory technician at Yerevan University. She also said: Why do you keep sending us your blood? The Armenians have donated enough blood for the injured; we don't need foreign blood.

...Back in Moscow, several families of our acquaintance asked us to try to find out on the spot whether it is possible to give a home to orphans from Armenia—temporarily and maybe even permanently. Hundreds of readers asked the newspaper the same question. The answer we were given in Armenia was: We will not allow children to be taken out of the republic.

From the 8 December 1988 Address to Compatriots by the Committee of the Karabakh Movement of Armenia: "We call on the central government not to take advantage of the Armenian people's tragedy to declare an all-union construction site, not to try to alter Armenia's ethnic composition. The republic will gratefully accept material assistance from the central government and the union republics and will use its own large surplus of manpower.

"We call on agitation and propaganda organs and the mass media to show decency, an end must be put to the cheap and pointless propaganda of internationalism..."

Foreign blood?..

But how about conscience? Can it also be ours and theirs? And how about truth? Does everyone have his own?

From a conversation with poetess Silva Kaputikyan:

"I believe that the 'Karabakh' Committee and the Karabakh movement itself are the offspring of restructuring. We have recovered our faith in democratic processes, in people's power. Maybe the trouble is that restructuring has still not gathered enough strength to endure our movement: We have become a destabilizing factor for it..."

From a conversation with Zhanna Nadzharyan, senior laboratory technician at Yerevan State University:

"God Almighty! There was so much talk about help for the victims! What a ballyhoo the press and television kicked up! I don't know about others, but I do know how my relatives live. They have been given neither clothing nor food; we have had to share everything we have with them. We went there, to the region, and the things that we saw! An old woman in a flannelette bathrobe warming her hands over a camp fire in temperatures of 10 degrees below zero! She was begging: Good people, give me a blanket, or at least put another bathrobe over me!"

From a political report on actions by personnel from the Tbilisi Faculty of the USSR MVD Moscow Higher Militia School in the city of Spitak:

"An unofficial helicopter pad to which material assets were delivered from various parts of the country, only to be misappropriated by persons unknown, was discovered in the city; this was reported to the party organs and measures were taken to guard it."

From an address to the republic population by "Karabakh" Committee leader Ashot Manucharyan:

"In the wake of this response to the earthquake and after the anti-Armenian campaign of the last few months, 'aid' from Azerbaijan is really hypocritical and must be refused."

A question put to Major General N.G. Fedosov, military commandant of Yerevan's Spandaryanskiy Rayon:

"What happens to freight arriving from Azerbaijan to help the victims?"

[Fedosov] "We take all identification marks off the railroad cars and the freight. Otherwise extremists would try to ensure that they were refused."

From A. Manucharyan's address:

"In view of the fact that supplies from abroad did not take into account existing needs—the items our country was unable to promptly supply in the required quantities—and that the money collected for restoration work is often used by departments that 'forget' the specific purpose for which it was donated, we asked composer Charles Aznavour and Governor G. Deukmejian of California to organize, respectively, a European and a U.S. center for the collection of funds in aid of the earthquake victims and the targeted utilization of those funds. This appeal had its effect, and many private donations were made via these channels..."

...In Armenia, control of this channel was taken over by the "Charity" fund specially set up by the "Karabakh" Committee. It was headed by Khachik Stambultyan, one of the committee's leaders. Stambultyan's personal account was credited with large foreign currency transfers, and an aircraft arrived from France with cargo consigned to him personally.

Khachik Stambultyan is a senior scientific staffer in an Armenian SSR institute. He enjoys the reputation of an exceptionally noble and highly intelligent person. Following his arrest, people started saying that he is a true saint.

Bagrat Yesayan, member of the Armenian Students Union (ASU):

"Don't you know why there is a need for a curfew here in Yerevan? There are no Azerbaijanis here—whom are the tanks protecting?"

FROM ASHOT MANUCHARYAN'S ADDRESS TO THE REPUBLIC'S POPULATION (IN CONNECTION WITH THE 11 DECEMBER DEMONSTRATIONS):

"...I believed that the situation could still be salvaged, and accepted the offer to speak on television and call on the population to remain calm, since I saw what had happened as a misunderstanding (meaning the arrest of 'Karabakh' Committee leaders on 10 December—O.D., A.N.), provided all those arrested in the Writers' House were released... Dozens of people telephoned to ask what to do. I agreed to meet them, having promised to get a clear picture of the situation beforehand. When I got to the Tumanyan Monument at the set time, there were already about 1,000 people there, but troops surrounded them and demanded that they disperse immediately. I told everyone to move to another spot and there I told them in what circumstances the committee members had been arrested. By now the crowd was several thousand strong, and the indignant people demanded resolute action. I suggested marching through the city center—avoiding all encounters with the army—and letting people know what had happened.

"Soldiers suddenly attacked from around the corner by the railroad bridge. People started running to avoid their blows. A few ran to the nearest public garden, picked up whatever they could get hold of, and prepared to resist."

From the testimony of Private Vladimir Leontyev (about events on 11 December):

"The crowd did not respond to the order to disperse made over the bullhorn. Unprintable insults were shouted at us. They also screamed: 'Fascists, sadists!' People were armed with sticks, spades, and stones. The 'fighters' held a 2-meter piece of ferroconcrete and threw it at the soldiers. Stones were being thrown at us from the railroad embankment, then they started shooting. At first we tried to push the demonstrators off the street using our plastic shields, but when they started firing at us we used our nightsticks. There were very few of us, however, while the line of demonstrators was so long that we could only see its central part. What followed was sheer hell. You could not see the sky for flying stones.

"I protected my head with the shield, but one stone got through and my face started bleeding. By an irony of fate, that was the very day that we all had intended to donate blood for the earthquake victims. As it happened, we did give our blood..."

Private Vyacheslav Spasibov:

"I was also hit in the face. I can't remember what hit me, I lost consciousness."

Private Sergey Grivin:

"When Spasibov fell down, we gathered around him and then stones came flying toward us. Medic Melnichuk had a bag with a red cross on it over his shoulder, but stones were even thrown at the red cross. The medic was also wounded; he was hit on the head."

...A total of 13 soldiers were wounded and hospitalized 11 December. They all suffered injury. There is no record of any requests for medical assistance from Yerevan residents who took part in that day's demonstration.

An incident described at the political organ of the Internal Troops temporary formations:

"Right after the June events at Zvartnots Airport, a crowd gathered along one of the highways leading to Yerevan and halted two military vehicles. The vehicles were overturned and the soldiers were dragged out to be torn to pieces. Suddenly one Armenian wrenched a young soldier out of the crowd's hands, bundled him inside his car, and—taking advantage of the general confusion—vanished from the scene. He later dressed the soldier in civilian clothes and drove him to the commandant's office. We wanted to somehow thank this brave man, at least to present him with a watch inscribed with his name. But he had just one wish: to remain anonymous."

A question put to Maj Gen N.G. Fedosov:

"Don't you think that the curfew and the ensuing restrictions traumatize the city population?"

[Fedosov] "Yes, to a certain extent. To the extent that people perceive this as evidence of pressure, of mistrust in them. But many realize that this is a guarantee of order and security, which are needed now, with people's minds strained to the limit. I often meet with enterprise labor collectives and individual citizens. You know, this might surprise you, but I have often been told: Yes, you military peoplewill go away, and our life will become very complicated.

"As you know, the curfew was introduced the night of 24-25 November. I will always remember that night. There was a crowd of 30,000 in the square, including children and even babes in arms—an excited and frenzied crowd screaming 'Artsakh!', 'Artsakh!' [ancient name for what is now Nagorno-Karabakh]. There were open fires burning, faces were distorted with fury. A terrifying sight. The mob mentality cannot be underestimated, you know."

A question put to members of the ASU Coordinating Council:

"What is your attitude toward the fighters' actions, and toward extremist methods in general?"

[Answer] "We condemn any violence. Stones in people's hands are a sign of barbarism. Our principle is to act by constitutional means and to follow a democratic path."

INFORMATION ABOUT THE ASU.

"The ASU is a sociopolitical and cultural association that tries to organize national and political activeness by Armenian students and young people. The Union's objective is to protect national interests.

"The ASU's primary tasks are:

"1. Restoration of the Armenian SSR's sovereignty through:

"a) republican economic accountability and economic autonomy;

"b) cultural and educational autonomy;

"c) revision of the term 'Citizen of the USSR,' replacing it with 'Citizen of the Armenian SSR';

"d) Armenian missions in the capitals of all USSR republics (following Moscow's example), thus halting the assimilation of the Soviet diaspora;

"e) struggling against violations of Article 72 of the Armenian SSR Constitution (all official correspondence in the territory of the Armenian SSR is to be conducted in the Armenian language).

"2. Elimination of all blank spots in the Armenian people's history.

"3. Improvement of the republic's ecological health (dismantling of AES's, dechemicalization of the republic).

"4. Student self-management."

(From the ASU Program).

Armen Davtsyan, member of the ASU:

"It all started in February. All students joined the nationwide movement for Karabakh. Between 26 May and 15 June we organized a sit-down demonstration in Theater Square (that was where we prepared for our examinations). We demanded that the question of reunification of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast be included on the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session's agenda, and that a political assessment be made of events in Sumgait.

"None of the rallies, including hunger strikes, that were taking place in the square at that time had anything to do with us. We resolved right then not to hold rallies, not to elect leaders. Our leader was our idea.

"In September we started organizational work, setting up ASU 'primary organizations' in the republic's VUZ's, technical colleges, and schools. The ASU held its constituent congress 10 November. On 21 November we held a march to the republic Supreme Soviet. About 50,000 people took part in it, in other words, virtually all students from Yerevan."

A question put to the ASU Coordinating Council:

"Does your organization operate within the framework of the Karabakh movement?"

[Answer] No. The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast problem is just one element in our program. We see ourselves as part of an all-national Armenian movement similar to the Estonian People's Front. But we are not just the youth faction of this movement. We are an autonomous organization.

[Question] Had a similar young people's organization existed in Azerbaijan, could you have embarked on a constructive dialogue with it?

[Answer] Of course. We're all in favor of it.

[Question] Your attitude toward the Komsomol?

[Answer] Almost all ASU leaders are Komsomol members; many of us hold elected office in Komsomol organizations. It is enshrined in our statute that we are prepared to cooperate with any young people's organization that does not oppose our movement. We have good personal relations with Komsomol leaders from the State University and the republican [Komsomol] Central Committee, especially First Secretary Granush Akopyan. We asked her to help us launch our free newspaper, which would become an organ of all Armenian young people. Granush Akopyan said she personally liked the idea and asked us to submit a substantiated memorandum so the matter could be coordinated with party organs. The republic Komsomol Central Committee is familiar with the ASU program and statute.

From a conversation with G. Akopyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee:

"We would like to have meetings with informal young people's associations, especially the ASU."

[Akopyan] The ASU?

[Correspondents] Yes, the Armenian Students Union.

[Akopyan] I know of no such organization. I believe that it simply does not exist. There is one guy in the university, Nairi Unanyan... Last summer he asked to be sent to Estonia, claiming he wanted to take a vacation after the session. But while he was there he seems to have studied the experience of the popular front organization. Afterwards he came to me: We want, he said, to create our own organization. I replied: If you have any interesting ideas, come along, we'll discuss them with the Komsomol. Bring along, I told him, a program and statute. He was amazed: Do you mean to say that we need a program?

...On our last evening in Yerevan, a psychologist on official business from Moscow came to our hotel and offered a piece for our newspaper. Here is the idea behind this piece: A large proportion of the Armenian population is in a complex mental state today; many are in a state of shock. Consideration must be shown for people's mental state. For this purpose, it is necessary to speak the truth, only the truth, and nothing but the truth. Any falsehood, any duplicity is pernicious. He cited as an example one of Pavlov's experiments with a dog. First it was shown a circle—and it learned the existence of circles. It was then shown an ellipse—and it accepted the ellipse. But once they showed the dog how a circle can be squashed to become an ellipse—and the dog went out of its mind. It proved unable to reconcile the irreconcilable: Either the one or the other.

...Consideration for people's mental state can take different forms: You can avoid painful topics, controversial issues, and complex questions. You can adopt a complimentary tone, ruling out even the slightest likelihood of mistake. You can thus pass as a friend, but it would be a false friendship. The psychologist uttered a platitude, but the platitude contained an element of truth: Nothing but the truth.

So where is the truth for Armenia today? There are those who reject help from their neighbors—and there are those who are prepared to launch a dialogue with the neighbors. There is a hand throwing a stone at a soldier—and there is a hand that deflects this stone. There are "fighters"—and there are those who describe extremism as barbarism. And all this is part of today's Armenia.

Recently, the democracy we have been diligently learning has been teaching us quite a few bitter lessons. One such lesson was provided by the... rubber nightstick. Here is a paradox: While there was not even a hint of democracy in our society, there were no nightsticks either. Now it is the other way round. Does this mean that these two are inseparable? Apparently they are. And this is highly regrettable. Will it ever be different? Hardly. This is because democracy not only gives people their freedom, it also frees the hands of the riffraff, enabling them to commit dirty deeds while taking refuge beneath lofty moral talk of human rights, an individual's right to self-expression, and so on. There have been, there are, and there will be plenty of representatives of this tribe—always. A sad axiom of life.

Another lesson is that the aforementioned riffraff feel very uncomfortable in isolation. They are social animals and must without fail be in the midst of people. That is where they can let go, feeling absolutely safe: Nobody will point at them in the midst of crowds and confusion and shout: "Hold it!" On the contrary, they are the ones who shout and, by virtue of their "special laryngeal structure," shout louder than all the rest. This is where the crowd syndrome, the so-called herd instinct, starts operating. The hysteria of a single loudmouth is instantaneously transmitted, like a poisonous mushroom's spores, to the people standing next to him, and then spreads further and further still... The result may be universal insanity that cannot be controlled.

All the above applies not only to large gatherings—rallies, demonstrations, and so on—but also to entire sociopolitical movements. No such movement, especially if it has a large membership, can consist exclusively of people with crystal-clear honesty. There are countless examples. Look no further than the grandiose events of 70 years ago—our revolution—and think of the sundry trash that attached itself to it at different times. Another example, albeit on a smaller scale. You would think that no task could be nobler than protecting and restoring historical and architectural monuments, safeguarding and reviving national cultural values and traditions. So why has the name of the "Pamyat" Society, which ostensibly sets itself those selfsame goals, become synonymous with the most old-fashioned chauvinism, crude obscurantism, and home-grown nationalism? Primarily because now it is full of all sorts of provocateurs, extremists, "blackshirts," and finally plain fools who reduce the great goals to the idiotic slogan of "Beat the Yids and Save Russia!" Extremism, diehard attitudes, and—even worse—aggression compromise ideas and thus kill them off.

Let anyone who likes answer this question: Would the events now taking place have been possible some 5-7 years ago? It seems to us that the very fact of the ASU's existence answers this question. So maybe it is still too early to lose faith in restructuring ("I believed in restructuring for a whole year," one of our interlocutors lamented). It needs faith, it needs faith very much. Without faith it will not advance, and it has a long way to go yet.

Yes, we all want changes. We want them so badly that at times it seems as if we are standing still. But you need only look around to see the huge distance that separates us from yesterday.

Today it would be naive to bury our heads in the sand and claim that universal grace reigns in the sphere of national relations in our country. Nobody even thinks of doing this. There are endless problems, and they will have to be solved. But they will have to be solved by us all jointly, not in isolation. And bitterness is the worst adviser here. Humanistic and universal values are being affirmed all over the world, and anyone who picks up a stone accomplishes an instantaneous leap backwards in evolution, no matter whether he is a Russian, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, or Armenian. Today it is no longer possible to uphold an idea by picking up a stone; it is no longer possible to struggle for national and human rights by using an iron club to break someone else's head. It is not possible.

Karabakh Committee Election Campaigners Arrested

AU2601101489 Paris AFP in English 0946 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 26 (AFP)—Seven Armenians who campaigned for imprisoned nationalists seeking seats in the new Soviet parliament have been jailed in recent days, an Armenian source said Thursday.

Four jailed members of the Karabakh Committee, which has spearheaded a resurgence in Armenian nationalism, have been elected in primary votes to a spot on the ballots of the March 26 election to the People's Congress of Deputies, said the source, who declined to be identified.

Of the seven supporters who campaigned for the four men, one was arrested for organizing a meeting in which 500 persons cast votes for Levon Ter-Petrosyan, one of the four members of the 11-man Karabakh Committee to be detained by the authorities.

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan was sentenced to 30 days in jail under emergency legislation introduced when the Army clamped a curfew on the Armenian capital.

Four others who had tried to organize a meeting in a lamp factory were also arrested after Yerevan's military commander prevented the meeting from taking place.

Two employees of a factory making electrical components were also held after casting votes for Karen Simonyan, a writer who has supported the committee.

In addition to Mr. Ter-Petrosyan, the members of the Karabakh Committee who were said to have won the primary elections are Ashot Manucharyan, Rafael Kazaryan and Babken Araktsyunyan.

The source said, however, that nothing guaranteed that the electoral commission in Yerevan would confirm the four candidates' elections.

The Karabakh Committee draws its name from Nagorno-Karabakh, an ethnic-Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan that Armenian leaders want reattached to Armenia. Moscow recently decided to put the enclave under direct rule.

Comparison of Volskiy Statement on NKAO

PM2501140989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 25 January 1989 carries in its First Edition on page 6 a TASS report on Volskiy's comments on the normalization of life in Nagorno-Karabakh. The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA item, entitled "The Committee Has Started Its Work," has been compared with the PRAVDA version published in the 25 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 52, revealing the following variations: Column b Carryover paragraph, last sentence, reads in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: ...to their questions.

"This form of rule has been introduced in accordance with the USSR Constitution for the first time. There has been no experience of it before. We shall gain experience in our work. One thing is clear now—there is going to be much work. That is why the people's support is the crucial foundation of all the efforts to accelerate and deepen the processes of restructuring in the NKAO," A. Volskiy emphasized in conversation with your TASS correspondent. He noted that the oblast is beginning an independent life burdened with a heavy legacy. The many months of strikes caused the disruption of plans and tremendous indebtedness on the part of the majority of enterprises and undermined the confidence of many partners and customers. Preoccupied with political campaigns and countless rallies, the leaders of a number of enterprises paid no attention to the provision of resources for this year, to funds and finances, or to suppliers and customers. And now, when faced with problems which have assumed their full magnitude, they are simply losing their self-control. Therefore, one of the paramount problems is to normalize the oblast's economic life."

Dwelling briefly on... (picking up paragraph one, sentence one, adding paragraph)

Socialist Consuls Learn of Ukraine Ethnic Policy

AU1901122089 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 14 Jan 89 p 2

[RATAU report: "A Useful Meeting"]

[Text] This is how representatives of the consulates general of the socialist countries in Kiev described the meeting organized for them by the Information Department of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The meeting was held in connection with the publication in the press of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decision "On the progress made in implementing the decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee 'On the measures to implement in the republic the directives of the 27th party congress and the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee in the field of ethnic relations and of intensifying the internationalist and patriotic education of the population."

The consuls general and the consuls for political affairs were addressed by L.M. Kravchuk, chief of the Ideological Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for patriotic and internationalist education and interethnic relations. He spoke about how the republic's party organization and soviets of people's deputies, relying on the people's initiative and support, were improving the forms and methods of this work. He said they were overcoming manifestations of a nihilist attitude toward national achievements and traditions, adopting an internationalist view of existing problems, organizing how to tackle them, and making use of the experience of other states.

L.M. Kravchuk answered questions asked by the diplomats. S. Hoeldtke, GDR consul general, thanked him on behalf of the participants for the interesting and frank conversation on questions of interest for the fraternal countries.

Ukrainian Politburo Disciplines Officials

AU2501123589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At its routine session, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee examined the results of the accountability and election campaign in the Ukrainian Communist Party and the measures to comply with the critical remarks and proposals made by the Communists.

The decision adopted outlines ways of further enhancing the initiative and activity of party links in deepening the restructuring processes in the republic. A report on the decision will be published in the press.

The Central Committee Politburo session examined the progress made in taking the urgent measures drawn up in the 4 July 1988 decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the 12 July 1988 decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to introduce order in trade and the services sphere. [passage omitted]

Having examined the situation, the Central Committee Politburo found that the work carried out by party obkoms and gorkoms, administrative and public organizations, leaders of ministries and departments to introduce proper order in trade, the sphere of consumer and municipal services, and urban transportation was inadequate.

Comrade A.S. Statinov, Ukrainian SSR minister of trade; Comrade S.V. Litvinenko, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumer Societies; Comrade A.N. Tkachenko, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; Comrade A.Ye. Romanenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of health; Comrade A.Ya. Gil, Ukrainian SSR minister of consumer services; Comrade V.M. Reva, Ukrainian SSR first deputy minister of transport; and Comrade V.A. Zgurskiy, Kiev Gorispolkom chairman, were strictly admonished for the great shortcomings in trade and the sphere of services to the population, and for the failure to take practical measures to eliminate shortages and the inexcusable lines of people. The Central Committee ordered them to curb infringements and abuses in the services sphere, and to strictly implement party and government directives concerning these issues.

The Central Committee has obligated leaders of ministries, departments, administrative organs, and trade union organizations to ensure that proper order is introduced in trade and the sphere of services, and to do their best to reduce the shortages and the losses of time suffered by the population. Party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been commissioned to raise the level of leadership in basic party organizations within trade and the sphere of services. It has been found necessary to increase the liability of enterprise and organization leaders in these branches for the correct distribution and utilization of foodstuffs and other commodities, and, if necessary, to reinforce the leadership with experienced, energetic, and enterprising officials. Endeavors are to be made not to leave any violation or any abuse without a discussion in the collectives concerned, without a strict and principled response.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium has been instructed to examine at its routine session the entire complex of problems concerning radical improvements in trade, consumer, municipal, and medical services for the population, and to pay particular attention to efforts to eliminate shortages and to meet the population's needs for some kinds of necessities, including soap, detergents, confectionery, and tobacco goods.

The republic's People's Control Committee, Trade Unions Council, and administrative organs have been ordered to make better use of the rights granted to monitor the activity of service enterprises and organizations, and to respond strictly and in time to cases of violations and abuses that are revealed, as well as to justified complaints from among the population.

Secretaries and department chiefs in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee have been commissioned to be more strict in verifying the implementation of the decisions adopted on these questions by the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees.

Other problems concerning the republic's state and public life were also examined.

Ukraine Issues Press Release on Bilingualism

AU1901122189 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 15 Jan 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Circulating a Press Release"]

[Text] New York—The permanent representation of the Ukrainian SSR to the UN has circulated at the headquarters of the international community a press release about the implementation of party directives concerning ethnic relations, the intensified internationalist and patriotic education of the republic's population, as well as measures drawn up to expand the sphere in which the Ukrainian language is used, and to further promote harmonious native- Russian bilingualism.

Moldavian Commission's 'Urgent' Language Measures

LD2401162389 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 30 Dec p 3

[Text] Guided by the provisions of the resolution of the 19th all-union party conference "on relations between nationalities" and the decision of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee of 5 July 1988, "measures to deepen the study of the history and development of Moldavian," the interdepartmental commission has made an in-depth study of the language situation prevailing in the republic and has drawn up an outline of measures that should be adopted in order to improve the situation that has developed.

Having considered the report "The linguistic and social status of Moldavian," which was presented by Doctor of Philology, professor S.G. Berezhan, director of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, and the report "The link between the Romance nature of Moldavian and the Latin script," presented by Doctor of Philology A.M. Dyrul, deputy

director of the Institute of Language and Literature of the MSSR Academy of Sciences, and taking into account the speeches made during discussion of these documents at the session, as well as the views of eminent specialists in linguistics in the country and the republic, writers, academics in various fields, the intelligentsia and others, expressed at various republican forums and in the press, which note both the positive aspects of cultural achievements, including in the field of language and literature in the course of building socialism, and negative trends in the development of national languages which have led to the creation of unfavorable conditions for the flourishing of Moldavian, the commission considers that this situation can be eradicated by means of the adoption of urgent broad measures, one of the most vital of which is making Moldavian the state language. This act should simultaneously ensure the development and free functioning of Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Gagauz, and the languages of the other nationalities living together on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

The concept of the existence of two different eastern Romance languages should be renounced, recognizing the identity of Moldavian and Romanian.

At the same time, it is essential to resolve the problem of the use of Latin script, which affects academics and linguists, students of literature, the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia and other citizens of the republic who advocate the introduction of the Latin alphabet, which corresponds more accurately to the Romance nature of Moldavian.

The interdepartmental commission studying the history and problems of development of the Moldavian language decrees:

1. A proposal is to be made to the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet that Moldavian should be decreed the state language in the territory of the MSSR and that the appropriate amendment be made to the MSSR Constitution, while ensuring the principle of national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism, the develoment and free functioning of the languages of the nationalities living on the territory of the Moldavian SSR.

2. The Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, members of the interdepartmental commission, linguists, lawyers, specialists in other fields, representatives of the creative unions and public organizations to draw up draft laws and decrees on language.

3. It is to be proposed to the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet that a transfer to the Latin script should be approved and the MSSR Council of Ministers should be instructed to draw up a specific program of measures for the phased implementation of this decision in all spheres of public life, having set up a special working group to this end.

A. Mokanu, chairman of the interdepartmental commission studying the history and problems of development of Moldavian.

N. Matkash, secretary of the interdepartmental commission studying the history and problems of development of Moldavian.

Moldavia Commission Considers Appeals From Exiles

LD2401160189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 8 Jan 89 p 3

[Text] A routine session of the government commission examining appeals from former special exiles has been held. It was noted that during the checks that were done on the basis of appeals from citizens, many instances were established of people being groundlessly exiled from the republic.

In order to eliminate the infringements of socialist legality which were allowed to occur in the past and to deal more efficiently with the rehabilitation of citizens who were illegally exiled, the executive committees of town and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies were instructed to set up the appropriate working groups to consider the lists of people exiled from each rayon and town and to draw up proposals for their rehabilitation.

Once prepared, the documents are to be presented according to a prescribed procedure to the government commission so that all work on the rehabilitation of illegally exiled citizens is completed in the first half of 1989.

In order to speed up the process, interested citizens can appeal directly to the executive committees which made the relevant decision concerning them.

RSFSR Presidium Criticizes Orel Election Process

LD2501205389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—The work of the soviets of people's deputies in Orel Oblast (central Russia) in connection with preparations for the election of USSR people's deputies was discussed today by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Five candidates for USSR people's deputies were nominated by labor collectives for the three territorial constituencies.

It was noted at the session that the electoral campaign in the oblast is being conducted on the new legal basis set out in the USSR Constitution and the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies, and that it is marked by intensified activity of the working people, by openness and glasnost in the expression of public opinion, and by the voters' interest in nominating the most worthy candidates for USSR people's deputies.

It was said, however, that in Orel Oblast, as in a number of other regions in Russia, not all the soviets of people's deputies or their executive and management bodies have yet managed to ensure a high degree of organization in preparing for the election, or are displaying initiative and persistence in implementing the democratic principles set out in the electoral legislation.

The Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium instructed the soviets of Orel Oblast and other regions in the republic to ensure strict and unswerving observance of the law on elections, to devote particular attention to ensuring further democratization when carrying out preelectoral measures, and to concentrate their efforts on implementing the points contained in the CPSU Central Committee's appeal to the party and the Soviet people and on mobilizing the working people to accomplish the tasks of restructuring.

'Follow-up' on Dismissal of Krasnogorsk Prosecutor

PM2501151589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 6

["Follow-up" feature comprising article by Letters Department, statement from RSFSR Deputy Prosecutor A. Titov, and editorial afterword: "Games of Silence Continue"]

[Text] On 22 October 1988 SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA published an article entitled "How the Obstinate Prosecutor Was Curbed." It reported how the Krasnogorsk party gorkom, headed by V. Pakharev, tried to get rid of an unwelcome rayon prosecutor, M. Nikonov. He was unwelcome precisely because of his staunch and principled stance—everyone is equal before the law, regardless of who they are. The prosecutor's activeness and independence were described by the party gorkom bureau as professional incapacity.

No sooner was our article published than a denial appeared hot on its heels: It turned out that "many facts... do not correspond to reality and were selected tendentiously" and that the journalists who wrote the article "are exerting an adverse influence on the state of the moral and political climate... on the eve of the 71st anniversary of Great October" and are even "pitting party and soviet bodies against... working people"! The Krasnogorsk party gorkom bureau's conclusion was published in the local newspaper, AVANGARD.

As we can see, the party leaders of this city in the greater Moscow region considered that the stance adopted by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA was incorrect and the article "How the Obstinate Prosecutor Was Curbed" unfair. At the same time V. Pakharev told a city party conference: "Given that the appointment and dismissal of a prosecutor is the prerogative of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office (of the USSR prosecutor general and him alone—Editor's Note), the gorkom bureau has deleted paragraph 2 of its decision of 17 August" ("Consider it impossible to continue to use Comrade Nikonov in the post of Krasnogorsk city prosecutor"—Editor's Note). Moreover, the first secretary informed party conference delegates that a public commission had been set up "to study the questions raised in the article in greater detail."

Talking is one thing, but he did not give an official response to the editorial office. There is sharp practice going on... Particularly as the public commission's conclusions were not in the city authorities' favor. It established, for example, that some accomodation allocated to enterprises and organizations for the use of war invalids, the families of deceased, or those accorded similar status was ending up in quite different hands...

The Krasnogorsk party gorkom bureau's unpartylike attitude to criticism in the central press is easily explained: It was feared that an admission of guilt would have an adverse effect on the election of V. Pakharev. The city party conference was held, yet the party committee and its first secretary were still quite unable to summon up the courage to face the truth. Or is it more comfortable to let sleeping dogs lie?

This was when the Moscow CPSU Obkom should have intervened. But there too a "conspiracy of silence" reigned: This was the inevitable conclusion after discussion with V. Arkhipov, deputy chief of the party obkom State Law Department.

"You know," Viktor Vladimirovich acknowledged with dismay, "I personally cannot handle Pakharev. I once spent several hours trying to convince him, unsuccessfully. Incidentally, Department Chief V. Mironov has also tried to 'put him straight,' also to no effect..."

But there are certainly leaders in the party obkom who are capable of this. We think that it is now up to them.

[Signed] Letters Department

Here is what RSFSR Deputy Prosecutor A. Titov told the editorial office:

The RSFSR Prosecutor's Office has examined the article "How the Obstinate Prosecutor Was Curbed" published in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 22 October 1988.

In the light of the Krasnogorsk CPSU Gorkom's raising of the question of the impossibility of making further use of M. Nikonov in the post of city prosecutor, a check has been carried out of the work of the city prosecutor's office.

In the last 2 years the prosecutor's office has paid due attention to ensuring observance of legislation by enterprises and establishments under its supervision. Active use has been made here of the measures of response by the prosecutor's office to detected violations, as provided by the law, and questions of disciplining guilty

officials and holding them materially liable have been raised. Labor, housing, and other rights have been restored to a number of citizens after appeals by the prosecutor's office. Measures have been taken to strengthen law and order and the fight against crime in the city. These problems have been discussed at coordination conferences of leaders of law-enforcement agencies. The city party committee and gorispolkom have been briefed twice yearly on the state of legality and law and order in the city.

There are, however, shortcomings in the work of the Krasnogorsk Prosecutor's Office. Checks on implementation of the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative system were not organized in a timely fashion. Some documents concerning response by the prosecutor's office and information reports sent to party and soviet organs failed to specify proposals on measures to strengthen the rule of law.

Errors in the evaluation of evidence were committed in 1986-1987 during the investigation of a number of criminal cases (concerning A. Yeremin and V. Kovalev).

The criminal case against A. Shiribordin, L. Gribina, and V. Kryukova was studied at the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the inquiry into the case was reopened, and no violations of legality in the arrest of A. Shiribordin were established. No criminal proceedings were instituted against L. Shiribordina or investigated.

The shortcomings and omissions in the work of the Krasnogorsk City Prosecutor's Office and of M. Nikonov personally are not the result of an unconscientious attitude to the performance of official duties but are due to insufficient experience of work as a prosecutor—just 3 years in office.

In view of the fact that general supervisory activity was stepped up by the Krasnogorsk City Prosecutor's Office in 1988 and measures were taken to ensure citizens' rights in criminal proceedings, the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office considers that there are no grounds for the dismissal of Nikonov from his post. The Moscow Oblast prosecutor has been instructed to provide him with practical assistance.

For your information, I report that a session of the Krasnogorsk CPSU Gorkom Bureau was held 16 November 1988 and deleted the paragraph in the operative part of the resolution of 17 August 1988 concerning the impossibility of further employing M. Nikonov in the post of city prosecutor. [Titov ends]

From the Editorial Office:

As we see, RSFSR Deputy Prosecutor A. Titov deemed it necessary to report the changes in the Krasnogorsk CPSU Gorkom Bureau's assessments to the editorial office, but the party gorkom bureau itself is still apparently in thrall to local ambitions.

Activities of Informal Groups Discussed

PM2501083189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev under the rubric "Social Viewpoint": "Informal Groups—Who Are They?"]

[Text] The hall of Moscow's S.M. Zuyev House of Culture. Like myself, two teenagers sitting beside me were awaiting with interest the start of the show, looking all around, listening to conversations, and casting their eyes over the unusual slogans hanging above the stage, which they undoubtedly did not understand in all respects: "The solution to ethnic problems lies not in special troops but in implementing the principle of federalism," "Article 70, Note 190, of the RSFSR Criminal Code is the hope of Stalinists," "Provide an alternative to service in the USSR Armed Forces..."

While the rally organizers were tinkering with microphones, putting up posters, and forming groups around the presidium table, we chatted. The boys—ninth-graders from a nearby school—said that the previous day they had held a "roundtable" to which one of the teachers had invited activists of the Moscow People's Front. And the latter had invited anyone who so wished to come to their own rally. There were two who wished to. Interrupting each other, the guys described how people had been reluctant to let them through and how hard it had been to get through the militia cordon. I admit that the abundance of militiamen and of young people of impressive appearance at the entrance had worried me too.

I asked how they understood the slogans—the one about military service, for example—for they will be going to the military commissariat's rallying point in a couple of years' time. It turned out that they did understand it correctly, but whether they agreed with it was another matter. The rally began, and we were unable to continue our conversation.

Energy of the Young

Let us stipulate at once. In speaking of "informal" groups we will not attempt to "categorize" them—they are too motley in their diversity. Moreover, many groups are very short-lived—they collapse almost before they have come into being, merge with others, and change direction. The People's Fronts of the Baltic region and other informal associations will have to be left outside this article.

It is not easy to remember or even to pronounce the names of some of the groups, and it is no easier to investigate their essence. Whereas we still hear about the "lyubers" [members of bodybuilding youth groups], "punks," "hippies," "rockers," "fanatics," and "heavy metalists" and we have read all about "Pamyat," the "Democratic Union," the people's fronts in support of

restructuring, and "Memorial," many people do not yet, perhaps, know about groups such as the "narodniks," "fighters," "striped pants," "high-lifers," and so forth. Nevertheless, their existence is an objective reality with which we have to reckon.

How many such formations do we have, which the press calls informal? Sociologists believe that there are as many as 30,000. According to the Sociological Research Institute's data, active members of informal groups make up 10-13 percent of the total number of young people, while as many as 50 percent of young people are occasionally involved in them. Polls conducted by the Scientific Research Center of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School have shown that 30-40 percent of young people of Komsomol age in cities with a population of more than 1 million belong to amateur associations—from which it is possible to conclude that the informal movement is characteristic, above all, of large cities and is directly linked with urbanization. I learned from a conversation with V. Lantratov, sector chief of Moscow Party Gorkom's Ideological Department, that there are at least 2,000 different informal groups in the capital alone.

You name it, and it will be an area of activity among the "informals"! Some are united by an interest in sociopolitical problems, others by a production and technical orientation, and yet others by a scientific or philosophical-mystical, artistic-creative or physical cultural and fitness, ecological, military-patriotic, or other orientation. Some support restructuring, channel their efforts into the struggle against red tape and pseudorevolutionariness, develop and introduce self-management methods in production and in VUZ's, take kindergartens or war invalids under their wing, or restore monuments. Others, on the contrary, withdraw from life, filling various kinds of social niches, or, taking overtly antisocialist and anti-Soviet positions, use the processes of democratization to legalize themselves and create an official opposition to the party and the state.

And yet, to be fair, it has to be said that the absolute majority of informal associations and groups hold constructive positions and benefit social life in one sphere or another. And it was no coincidence that the 19th all-union party conference acknowledged as a positive phenomenon the emergence of a number of new public associations and amalgamations seeking to promote the cause of socialist renewal.

Where have the "informals" come from in such numbers? Why, only yesterday, did we attach virtually no significance to this problem, and did it even exist?

It can hardly be claimed that this is a new phenomenon. Communities of people united by certain interests have come into being in all times. And they have had informal leaders who provided leadership, introducing the organizing principle.

Today, however, we are observing a real surge of the public movement. Glasnost, democratization, the economic and political reforms, and the removal of many prohibitions and restrictions have stirred the soul of practically everyone. The very process of restructuring, of the transition from stagnation and regimentation of social life to democracy, is opening up scope for the rapid growth of social activeness. Fewer and fewer people sit things out, keep silent, and rest content with ordinary contemplation. People are making increasingly frequent attempts to assert their right to participate in those forms of life which for a long time were and in many ways still are the domain of professionals and apparatchiks.

True, the energy of the young—and it is precisely they, above all, who have an acute need for self-realization—frequently comes up against the well known conservatism and bureaucratism of official structures. It is the discrepancy between people's rapidly growing needs for social activity and the limited opportunities to realize them and the marginalization of young people in social relations that are one of the chief causes of the emergence of many of the informal groups.

Who Will You Be With?

Articles on "informals" and researchers' judgments usually divide them up into politicized and nonpoliticized groups. I consider this division very relative. But it is obvious that the politicization of the whole movement has recently been intensifying rapidly.

Who, you might think, could be further removed from politics than the so-called "don't cares" [dofenisty]—groups of idle youths who "don't care" about anything just so long as they can live through today and take everything from life today. The essence of their "philosophy" lies in the words of a song in the category of urban folklore: "Who needs a life of gloom? Tomorrow could bring war and doom." Is not pacifism politics? The hippies, who have been familiar to us since the seventies, urge young people to reject army service—that is politics too.

However, there are other, opposite examples of a departure into politics. The City Council of Reserve Servicemen was set up in Moscow a year ago to unite rayon councils and action groups of internationalist servicemen and activists of the military-patriotic movement. Today it embraces approximately 2,000 people, who operate along voluntary lines. Council member Aleksandr Nemeshayev said that the movement's initial task was to help young men of draft age to prepare for army service. But soon other aims appeared too. The council's ideological staff tackles questions connected with the release of captured Soviet servicemen. The "Duty" staff helps former soldiers to return more quickly to peaceful life and to adapt to it and shows concern for those whose health was impaired or who were disabled during service.

It is no easy matter to resolve these problems or to champion one's righteousness and secure justice and truth. I have seen the heated debates during which council members Major V. Fedin and Major S. Dudenko have to persuade an "unreceptive" audience of the need for young people's military-patriotic education, and I have seen them counter attempts to bring about a clash between the interests of Afghan servicemen and Great Patriotic War veterans. That is the very biggest politics. Today such councils have been set up in many of the country's cities.

The desire to be involved in social and political life unites members of the international brigades organized among schoolchildren, students, and workers. Actions in solidarity with the people of Afghanistan, parcels for Afghan children, the collection of signatures in support of Chilean patriots—this is just a small part of their work. The decisions adopted at the Second All-Union Meeting of International Movement Members once again confirmed the movement's political maturity and the purity of its intentions and nobility.

But today informal associations, above all, have become the object of particular arguments and contradictory judgments. They have always made it their aim to participate in resolving political questions in the life of the country and to influence the domestic and foreign policies of the party and the state.

For 2 years now the "Democratic Restructuring" scientific discussion club, which operates under the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Mathematicoeconomics Institute, has maintained its priority as a kind of intellectual center for Moscow's "informals." The club's motto is the principle of "three noes and one yes." No to violence and propaganda of violence. No to ideas of ethnic and racial exclusivity. No to claims to a monopoly on the truth to the detriment of the right of others to an independent quest. Yes to socialism. The club's members include doctors and candidates of sciences, young scientists, Communists, Komsomol members, and nonparty people. The forms of work are the same: seminars, discussions of problems of the country's economic development and the reform of the political system, the elaboration of theoretical works. And one of them was the democratic mandate sent to the 19th all-union party conference. Many of its proposals coincided with the conference's conclusions and were incorporated in its final documents.

The historical-political association "Community"—its aktiv includes students, teachers, scientific staffers, and older schoolchildren—advocates our society's further democratization on a socialist basis through the development of production and territorial management in every possible way, the consistent democratization of the system of soviet elections, and the broader economic independence of labor collectives. There is much that merits attention in the programs drawn up by the association's members with regard to social planning, public education, and the democratization of the Komsomol's structure. In the course of political battles, for which the most pointed and topical subjects are chosen ("Socialism and Democratization," "On Stalin's Personality Cult," and so forth), young people not only seek to analyze the most complex problems of our time but also learn to conduct a political discussion and to champion their viewpoint. And yet to a certain extent "Community" is suffering an "infantile" disease, gambling on the revival of postulates of half-forgotten theoreticians of the past and getting carried away with ringing political phrases.

But many political clubs—it would take a long time to enumerate them—are too preoccupied with theoretical arguments and the organization of self-publicity. While verbally supporting restructuring and advocating that our life be cleansed of past accretions, in practice they do little to this end. And, of course, the categorical nature of judgments and the desire to be the voice of the people and the ultimate truth are disconcerting.

It is also a glaring fact that the "informals" are very little concerned about who joins them and why, handing over the mouthpiece of glasnost and sometimes even the reins of power to overt extremists. This was graphically illustrated by the Moscow People's Front rally, which began, incidentally, quite decorously. The speakers spoke with anguish of the tragedy which had befallen Armenia and offered the victims specific aid.

Passions became inflamed as soon as they moved on to the agenda. Here are just a few passages which rained down on the rally participants from the mouths of members of the People's Front Coordinating Committee and other speakers: "The Soviet mass propaganda media are conducting a loathsome campaign of lies, slander, and disinformation of public opinion under slogans of democratization and broader glasnost"; "Those who hold power and who are losing power over our minds and souls are doing everything to distort the essence of the sociopolitical movement"; "The People's Front today is the only real mechanism which will enable us to prevent Stalinism." How many of those very lies which they oppose, how much ambition and malice, and how little common sense!

A murmur of indignation ran through the hall when another speaker, citing a "source" known only to him, named astronomical figures for victims of "Communist terror," comparing them with the victims of Hitlerism in fascist Germany. What lies behind these irresponsible parallels? Just political myopia and ignorance or the very real desire to take advantage of glasnost for incitement, slander, and dangerous social demagoguery?

Listening to speakers pontificating on psychiatric hospitals and KGB intrigues, I could not help recalling a recent meeting with members of the organizing committee of another amateur association with the same name—the People's Front, of Yaroslavl. There are plenty of rallies, discussions, and verbal rapier thrusts

there too. But the Yaroslavl people have something else to their credit. The People's Front has helped party and soviet organs to see the problems that exist in the city in the social sphere, serious shortcomings in cadre policy and in the distribution of housing, and abuses of their official position on the part of individual senior officials of the city and the oblast—which have already cost some of them their jobs. Largely thanks to the efforts of People's Front activists, a "direct telephone line" has begun working between the leaders of the party gorkom and the population. Preferential treatment of the local elite in special cafeterias has been abolished, and the special hospital and health center of the party and economic aktiv have been handed over to the city people. After this it becomes clear why the People's Front enjoys people's confidence and support.

The leaders of the Moscow People's Front can only dream of such support or... pass off wishful thinking as reality, publicly proclaim their popularity with the masses, and declare that thousands are behind them. All this is not so, and there are reasons why.

The chief reason is that the front has still not formulated any integral stance and lacks consistency, principledness, and a clear political platform—instead, it swings from one extreme to another, makes irresponsible statements, and is not fastidious with regard to those with whom it deals. And it is not hard to see this for yourself.

...At the end of the rally a young man aged 18-20 took the microphone. The impression was that someone was after him.

"I am a member of the Democratic Union," he introduced himself, somewhat exaggerating the emotion. "I have just come from Pushkin Square and have had the pleasure of seeing for myself how the Communist authorities of our city regard human rights."

There then followed a tale of brutality on the part of the "special forces" which broke up a "peaceful Democratic Union rally organized to mark Human Rights Day." At the end of his monologue the young "defender of rights" urged people, on behalf of "his party," to vote in the upcoming elections for "independent candidate deputies or, if the Democratic Union fails to nominate such people, to cross out deputies nominated from the ruling party." No need for comment, as the saying goes.

The newspapers reported what kind of rally Democratic Union activists tried to hold in Pushkin Square. At the same time as Muscovites shaken by the tragedy in Armenia were giving blood, receiving aircraft with the first injured people, and giving all possible aid to the victims, the organizers of the provocative gathering in downtown Moscow raised a poster-lampoon: "What guarantee is there that the disaster in Armenia is not a 'Soviet version' of SDI?" What could be more immoral and blasphemous than an outrage against common grief?

But all this is wholly in the style of the Democratic Union, which has made it its program goal to change the social system in our country.

Slogans... and Actions

It should also be said that the Democratic Union program includes a special section devoted to our Armed Forces, to reform in the Army. In order to sense the spirit of this document and understand how far-reaching the Democratic Union's leaders are in their intentions, let us turn to their platform. The Democratic Union advocates the creation of a hired Army, and during the transitional period it proposes introducing alternative civilian service for persons who "for reasons of conscience" cannot serve in the Army. Evidently for the same reasons the union proposes abandoning military-patriotic education and abolishing elementary military training in school, for all this "inculcates in teenagers the initial skills of a lethal trade and strengthens the totalitarian nature of society."

There you are. Not a word about the true role of our Armed Forces or the significance of military service and young people's military-patriotic education. It is strange, to say the least, to read these statements now that the whole world is discussing the new Soviet initiatives and now that the party and state are doing everything to lessen the danger of war. And one can only deplore the blindness of the leaders of the Moscow People's Front and other unsponsored organizations who are doing themselves a disservice by providing the demagogues of the Democratic Union with a platform. Is this not the reason for the really word-for-word similarity between individual slogans, appeals, and statements which they make?

To be fair, it should be pointed out that a mere handful among the "informals" enjoy the services of the Democratic Union and adhere to extreme positions. The example of that section of "Pamyat" which aspires to the role of champion of the sterile purity of the nation, culture, and history shows what such lack of discrimination leads to. There is nothing surprising in the fact that extremists like D. Vasilyev and "leaders" like him group themselves precisely around such organizations of ill repute.

I cannot fail to mention the informal associations' relations with official organs. It is an open secret now that the unsponsored movement possesses tremendous potential for social activity. There are also examples of enterprising actions by party and Komsomol organs which make skillful use of this activity. And yet these are only individual examples. There is clearly a lack of a thoughtful attitude to the unusual, a lack of serious analysis of the activities of informal groups, a lack of desire to channel them in the right direction, and a lack of constructive dialogue with opponents. On the other hand, there is an excess of suspicion, mistrust, and the desire to impose bans in case "no good comes of it." Of

course, I am not speaking of cases where democratic rights are used for antidemocratic purposes and where there is no choice but to wield power. But perhaps we do not need militia barriers everywhere, which frequently only fan the atmosphere, create a needless hullabaloo (since the militia are there, it means something will happen), and ennoble young "informals" in their own eyes as "persecuted fighters," as could be seen once again at that rally of the Moscow People's Front. Perhaps, instead of tearing down BARRIKADA—the wall newspaper published by "Community"—from school walls, accusing its authors of apolitical attitudes, and attaching other labels, we should openly discuss with them problems of education, upbringing, self-management, and the rights of pupils and teachers which are of concern to them, and not only to them? What is criminal about that?

Yes, unfortunately, propagandists and party and Komsomol activists still prefer the role of judges on the sidelines. A senior Komsomol official, sharing his impressions of the "informals'" rally, declared: "I sat in the hall incognito, and they did not see me." Is it not time to abandon this role of passive observers?

The rally of the Moscow People's Front ended by adopting a lengthy resolution. But there were few who wished to hear it through to the end. Clearly, I was not alone in being tired of talk and the abundance of generally empty declarations. And I had no one with whom to exchange impressions—my ninth-grader neighbors had not lasted through even half of the rally. This time the People's Front activists had miscalculated in wishing to fill their ranks with teenagers.

On leaving the hall I caught sight of a lonely leaflet pinned to the wall. In it yet another informal group—"People's Action"—was agitating for itself. Pointed slogans: "'People's Action' consolidates itself with that section of the CPSU which is the people's true vanguard in the struggle to implement the ideals of restructuring... 'People's Action' is an organization of the people's social self-defense against the arbitrariness of red tape... Join 'People's Action'—an organization of concerned and enterprising people!" Below this there was a column of telephone numbers to contact.

Trenchant, emotional words. But what lies behind them? Will the "concerned and enterprising" people find the wisdom to display the high degree of political responsibility which all who are really aware of what is happening and who are involved in it need? Will they be able to direct their energy into the true channel of restructuring? Not just in words. In deeds.

Writers' Union Plenum on Ecology, Elections

PM2601104889 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report"]

[Text] A routine plenum of the USSR Writers' Union Board was held 17-19 January. The plenum opened with an introductory speech by V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board. A report "The Land, Ecology, the New Stage of Restructuring and Literature" was delivered by Yu. Chernichenko, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board. A supplementary report was delivered by V. Rasputin, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board.

The following took part in the debate: Yu. Shcherbak, A. Nurpeisov, G. Malarchuk, T. Kuzovleva, V. Yakovenko, V. Beekman, S. Zalygin, R. Ovanesyan, A. Mikhaylov, V. Petkyavichyus, T. Ponomareva, M. Solikh, O. Poptsov, A. Abu-Bakar, G. Safiyeva, S. Ostrovoy, P. Khalov, A. Markov, D. Kugultinov, G. Baklanov, M. Svire, Yu. Borodkin, A. Aylisli, A. Salutskiy, O. Sultanov, and S. Kaputikyan.

A plenum resolution was adopted on the question discussed, and will be published. Appeals from the plenum to the USSR Academy of Sciences and to the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and Ministry of Health were also adopted.

After discussing 92 candidacies for USSR people's deputy proposed by the country's writers' organizations and the plenum participants, the plenum elected 12 candidate USSR people's deputies from the USSR Writers' Union—V. Astafyev, V. Bykov, Yu. Voronov, O. Gonchar, S. Zalygin, L. Leonov, Yu. Martsinkyavichyus, V. Rasputin, V. Sangi, O. Chiladze, I. Chobanu, and A. Yakubov.

It was decided to convene an extended plenum of the USSR Writers' Union Board on 21 March 1989 to elect the USSR people's deputies from the USSR Writers' Union.

The plenum discussed questions connected with the election of the board of the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" Publishing House. A report on this question was delivered by Yu. Gribov, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board.

The following spoke in the debate: V. Karpov, A. Banketov, Yu. Chernichenko, D. Kugultinov, A. Borshchagovskiy, Sh. Murtazayev, V. Telpugov, R. Lubkivskiy, N. Gilevich, M. Aliger, Yu. Prokushev, V. Ustinov, O. Poptsov, B. Kulikov, Ye. Markova, F. Aliyeva, and S. Yesin. Because the question had been insufficiently prepared for discussion, it was decided to carry it over to the next plenum.

The plenum granted the request of G. Markov, chairman of the USSR Writers' Union Board, to release him from that post and thanked him for his many years of fruitful work.

The plenum released Kh. Durdyyev from his duties as secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board at his request, in connection with his election as secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum elected Anar, Yu. Voronov, M. Machavariani, R. Ovanesyan, I. Stadnyuk, I. Chobanu, and A. Yakubov secretaries of the USSR Writers' Union Board.

The plenum sessions were chaired by V. Karpov, Yu. Mushketik, Yu. Verchenko, and Yu. Surovtsev.

The following took part in the plenum: V.K. Yegorov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department; F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation; M.F. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; N.N. Chetverikov, chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency; D.F. Mamleyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; A.V. Vasnetsov, chairman of the USSR Artists' Union Board; R.A. Grigoryev, secretary of the USSR Cinema Workers' Union Board; and Yu.P. Prudnikov, first secretary of Krasnopresnenskiy CPSU Raykom.

Appeal to Scientists on Ecology

PM2501165089 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 1

["Appeal to the USSR Academy of Sciences" by USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum, adopted at 17-19 January plenum]

[Text] Most respected comrades!

We writers unswervingly honor you as representatives of one of the world's most significant scientific organizations. We will not enumerate your undisputed merits, suffice it to recall once again what Soviet scientists have achieved in the opening up of space.

But there is a paradox: In the opening up of our Motherland's territories and natural resources errors and mistakes have been made in recent decades that are fraught with ecological consequences that are quite obvious now, and in some cases are beyond repair. While gaining undoubted and well-earned prestige in some areas, is science losing it in others, in areas that directly affect the immediate future of our state and all the Soviet republics without exception? Are not some of the republics, such as the Karakalpak ASSR, in a disastrous state? And did the Academy show sufficient concern for Baykal? For Ladoga?

And in general—where, in what region of our country can the condition of the environment be described as good?

In recent years the public has more than once seen the Academy of Sciences adopting by no means principled positions in resolving problems and questions of the utilization of nature.

How many instances have there been in your work when you have rejected departmental projects as unjustified, and how many instances of the opposite have there been—instances of your supporting projects that, after only a few years, or even before, revealed themselves to be economically unjustified and failed to meet the requirements of society's normal life and health?

Suffice it to recall the projects for a whole series of AES's and GES's, the projects condemned by the public and shelved by the government, for diverting part of the flow of the northern rivers into the Volga, the Ob into the Aral Sea, and the Danube into the Dnepr, or for damming Kara-Bogaz. And what is the Academy of Sciences with regard to the Volga-Chorgay project?

The question springs to mind: Why does the Academy of Sciences not explain to the Soviet public these and many other mistakes and name the scientists who are primarily responsible for erroneous decisions?

The party long ago found the strength and courage to do this, but what about you scientists?

The Academy of Sciences has yet to give the people an objective and complete picture of the losses of natural and human resources arising as a result of the Chernobyl tragedy; basically it not only remained aloof from the Aral tragedy, it is not even telling us the whole truth about the situation that has grown up in that region with a population of some 30 million, it keeps quiet about the losses in quantity and quality of forests and land as a result of so-called land improvements, and it fails to cite concrete indicators of the pollution of water and the atmosphere for every region and on the disappearance forever of our pride and joy—historic monuments of architecture and art. To this day we do not have an ecological map of the USSR.

Does the Academy of Sciences perhaps not have all these figures? Then you will agree that this is not to its credit.

The people know and honor the names of scientists who come out consistently in defense of nature, but they also know that the Academy presidium constantly supports narrow departmental interests, thereby demonstrating its dependence on those departments and sacrificing its own independence and prestige.

Soviet people trust scientists. But do you not feel that this trust, in these years of restructuring that are so crucial to our future, is nearing the brink of distrust?

Do you not feel the reproachful gaze of your recent and great predecessors, such as V.I. Vernadskiy, N.I. Vavilov, and V.N. Sukachev, who laid the foundations of the country's ecology? After all, the Academy has not yet

become leader of ecological science, let alone the ecological movement—it does not to this day have an autonomous ecology section, and its ecology program, a question that was raised 10 years ago, has not gained any really effective significance to this day.

We writers are far from wanting to interfere in the resolution of scientific problems. That kind of interference is impermissible. Especially since there are many substantial shortcomings and defects in our own activity. But that does not rid us of a sense of anxiety that we simply have no moral right to conceal in these days of glasnost. Our appeal stems from the sense of responsibility that you, and we, and all the Soviet intelligentsia bear to our people and their future.

With profound respect and sincere hope of mutual understanding.

[Signed] The USSR Writers' Union Board.

Statistics Committee News Conference on Economy

LD2001215689 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—"The economic indicators of the past three years show that the trend towards a decline in the rate of increment in social production is being overcome, and that the economy is being dynamised," said Mikhail Korolev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

He spoke today at a news conference dealing with the results of the socio-economic development of the USSR in 1988.

"Last year", Mikhail Korolev pointed out, "the large-scale reorganisation of the Soviet economy, including structural changes and mass transition to new economic management conditions, went on. About a half of increase in profit in industry was resultant of reduction in the prime cost of output. The branches of the fuel-and-power and metallurgical sectors operated steadily, and machine building underwent priority development".

In agriculture practically the entire increment was obtained due to livestock breeding. At the same time the committee chairman admitted that shortcomings in the organisation of the output, processing and storage of farm products did not make it possible to improve the provision of population with food. With an increase in per capita average consumption of staple foods, the food supply problem remains acute.

"The social reorientation of the economy was continued in 1988", Mikhail Korolev went on to say. "The share of consumption fund in national income grew. The production of consumer goods in industry developed at a priority rate. The rise in monetary incomes of population was higher than in the previous two years. Eleven million people got better housing last year".

Census Official Outlines Preparations

LD2001041789 Moscow TASS English 2051 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The outlays for the all-union population census, an action of so huge a scope, will amount to several million roubles, but the census will yield unique information, said Arkadiy Isupov, head of the census-taking administration of the USSR State Committee on Statistics (Goskomstat). At the request of TASS correspondents he commented on the first results of the population census which is concluded today.

The main information—the population's composition as regards age, marital status, nationality, language, education, tuition, sources of income, the number and size of families, as well as most information about the housing conditions, will be received by the end of the year. The processing of the materials of the 1989 population census is to be completed by the end of next year.

"We shall complete the processing a year earlier than during the previous census, in 1979", Isupov said. "The materials of the population census are needed for compiling the plans of the country's social and economic development for the 13th five-year period, the solution of the problems of the population's supply with goods and housing, distribution of labour resources according to regions, the training of specialists for the national economy and many other matters."

All the forms collected in the days of the census will be thoroughly checked in regional statistical bodies. They will be coded and recorded on a magnetic tape in 105 district and republican computing centres from which they will be fed to the main computing centre of Goskomstat of the USSR. Only depersonified information—without names, just marks and figures, will be fed into the computer.

Isupov also said that the census has been completed except for the disaster areas in Armenia, where, on the decision of the USSR council of Ministers, it has been extended till February 11. The results of the population census will be broadly published in the Soviet press so that all people could learn about them.

Sakharov, Others Urge Repeal of Death Penalty

PM2501161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Readers' letter under rubric "We Discuss Draft of Fundamental Principles of Criminal Legislation": "Is the Potential of Humanism Exhausted?"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Excerpts] One visible testimony to the restructuring taking place in the country is the radical revision of existing criminal legislation. And that is no accident. General disregard for man and his rights and freedoms

and the proclamation of immoral principles like "you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs" was reflected more than anywhere in criminal law. It is true that textbooks on criminal law have always assiduously cited Marx' words that even in a law violator you should always see the man.., a living particle of the state in which its heart blood pulsates, a soldier who should defend the motherland, the head of the family whose existence is sacred, and, finally, the most important thing—a citizen of the state. But until now criminal legislation itself blatantly lacked real humanism.

The draft of the fundamental principles of the criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics submitted for nationwide discussion takes a substantial step forward in that respect.

Nonetheless, an attentive study of the draft and a comparison between it and the real picture of the state of crime and legal practice make it possible to assert that reserves of humanism and preventive influence on people's sense of justice are far from exhausted in the draft.

For instance, let's take the most acute question which is undoubtedly not only of legal but also of important political significance—the question of the application of the death penalty. We want to stress that we—the authors of this letter—**are in principle in favor of its total repeal.** It has quite rightly been repealed for crimes against property and crimes of public office for women and for men over the age of 60.

But if the question of the application of the death penalty remains controversial for a murdering monster, in some cases it looks like a blatant anachronism. In particular we are talking of espionage committed by foreign citizens. What are our arguments in favor of repealing the death penalty for this crime? We think they are serious enough. First, if we are to look the truth in the eye, intelligence activity is an evil which is still, unfortunately, inevitable. Both "they" (for instance, the NATO countries) and we equally allow the possibility of espionage. Moreover, both "they" and we regard this activity as essential for state security and the best representatives of this profession are hailed as national heroes. That is, whether we want it or not, espionage as a crime is, alas, of a general human nature. And to say that our intelligence operatives are heroes while "theirs" are spies is nothing but hypocrisy. Second, the death penalty for these crimes has not been used anywhere for a long time (including in our country): The exposed intelligence operative of a foreign country is used to be exchanged for an unsuccessful "counterpart" in the same profession.

In our opinion, the imprint of a certain "shamefacedness" also lies on the formulation of legislative guarantees for the application of this form of punishment. Thus, article 29 of the draft, which gives a list of the types of punishment, does not include the death penalty, from which it follows that this penalty does not exist in our country. And only article 41 of the draft formulates the independent criminal law norm for the sole penalty—the death penalty. Commentaries on existing criminal legislation usually explain this dichotomy by the fact that the absence of the death penalty in the general list of types of punishment merely emphasizes the exclusive nature of this penalty. We think it is time to overcome this hypocrisy and, since this punishment is retained, it must also be included in the list of existing types of penalty.

There is something else we object to—the Fundamental Principles' instruction that "in cases specially stipulated by legislative acts of the USSR the death penalty can be imposed for other crimes committed in wartime or in a combat situation" (article 41). First, about wartime. Is it not a relapse into the thinking of the past to believe that "wartime" is still unavoidable? Why anticipate events? And if, God forbid, wartime does come, a single day will be enough to introduce the necessary amendments to criminal legislation.

In this connection great doubt remains as to what kind of legislative acts they will be which will provide for the death penalty? And, the main thing, why can the Basic Principles themselves not regulate this question? Is the result that a lower ranking law can extend the cases where the death penalty can be imposed? We think this grossly contradicts the idea of the rule-of-law state. It should also be considered that the issuing of such additional acts on the application of the death penalty for acts committed in a combat situation could lead to the violation of the rule concerning the law's retroactive power. Our rather sorry historical experience in this field of the law's application cannot fail to put us on guard. [passage omitted]

[Signed] USSR MVD militia Moscow Higher School Professors N. Zagorodnikov, honored figure of science of the RSFSR and doctor of juridical sciences; A. Naumov, chief of the criminal law department and doctor of juridical sciences; A. Sakharov, doctor of juridical sciences and USSR State Prize winner.

Biryokova Visits Consumer Goods Exhibition

LD2501142189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Comrade Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today visited the international consumer goods exhibition "Consum-Expo'89." During the visit conversations took place with representatives of enterprises, organizations, and firms of the Soviet Union and of foreign countries taking part in this exhibition.

Council of Ministers Paper Publishes First Issue

PM2001113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Moscow Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "First Issue of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK"]

[Text] The first issue of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK—the organ of the USSR Council of Ministers—has been published.

The newspaper opens with an address to readers from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. With the democratization of the political system and the deepening of the radical reform of the economy, the address says, there is a growing need to expand glasnost in the sphere of state administration, in the provision of regular information for the public on the government's activity. That is the new publication's main task.

What items have been included in the first issue? "Priority for Goods for the People"—the article under this headline discusses how to saturate the market with goods as rapidly as possible. The article "Guarantees of Irreversibility" describes experience in carrying out the first stage of the reform of the political system and asserts that the reform cannot be prepared secretly, without relying on the broad masses. Published under the rubric "Pages of History: Documents Tell the Story" is a correspondence on the first days of the work of the Soviet of People's Commissars. "Practice of Restructuring," "Facets of Political Reform," "Problems of Organizing Management," "Foreign Economic Relations," "Letters to the Government"—these are the main sections and titles of the pages of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK.

The newspaper's circulation is about 600,000 copies. It is sold in retail trade outlets and it is possible to subscribe to it. The newspaper intends to give its readers an idea of how the government works. In describing the sessions of the USSR Council of Ministers and its Presidium, it is planned to show how the complex decision taking mechanism operates and why a particular viewpoint has prevailed. Readers will be able to take part themselves in discussing state issues and through their proposals and ideas to influence the work of government organs. The newspaper will also offer a platform to those who work in the government.

Congratulating the editorial office collective on the publication of the first issue, IZVESTIYA workers wish their colleagues the speediest implementation of their creative designs.

Narcotics Treatment Programs Aired on Television

OW2201052589 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0100 GMT on 14 January carries a 30-minute program presented by Marina Orlova entitled "Stay With Us". The program begins with shots of poppy fields, a heroin processing plant, drug addicts, and children born to heroin-addicted mothers. As the video shows various scenes of human suffering caused by the use of heroin and other narcotics, Orlova says: "These scenes have been filmed in various countries, but they could have been taken in any country where the use of narcotics is known. Drug addiction is the plague of the 20th century. It recognizes neither borders nor boundaries. Children born to addicted mothers suffer regardless of the continent they live in; addicts die the same way everywhere; the danger of the spread of narcotics is the same to all who live on this earth. The threat is great and a special UN conference on the struggle against drug addiction opened on 25 November in Vienna.

"For a long time, the problem of drug addiction supposedly did not exist in socialist countries. By keeping quiet the disease was swept under the carpet. When this finally was brought out into the open and treatment made available, it was discovered that in Czechoslovakia, for example, there are 48,000 registered drug addicts; 40,000 in Hungary; Poland has 30,000; while in the Soviet Union more than 160,000 people use narcotics. Moreover, these figures are growing, along with drug-related deaths and crime statistics. In our country alone 40,000 drug-related crimes are committed annually."

Orlova says that the program will focus not on the criminal aspects of drug abuse, but rather on what society must do to combat this disease. She says: "Unfortunately, the belief that drug addiction is a crime is deeply embedded in us." She goes on to say that even though the law of the USSR prohibits the possession and use of narcotics, it also makes provisions for those who voluntarily seek treatment. "The law differentiates between the sick and the criminal."

As the video shows shots of a drug rehabilitation center, Orlova points out that the various socialist countries focused their attention on the problem long before the Soviet Union. A Czechoslovak journalist 2 years ago published a well-received book; Vietnam uses modern medicine alongside traditional acupuncture to treat drug addicts; Hungary, which is in the forefront of this struggle, makes successful use of such methods as massive advertising on the dangers of drugs; medical clinics staffed with well-qualified personnel, including psychologists and social workers; numerous government and privately funded support groups; and public awareness campaigns.

The video then cuts to an interview with four recovering male drug addicts recounting their experiences, intercutting with interviews with clinical psychologist M.V. Kovalchuk and psychiatrist V.V. Nazarov, a psychiatrist. Both argue that it is entirely wrong to treat all drug users as criminals, as this widely-held belief, coupled with the fear of retribution, often inhibits a drug user from seeking medical help.

A 15-year-old girl is interviewed and says that she first experienced drugs due to peer pressure, and was later supplied with drugs by a sister who had access to a hospital pharmacy. A drug addict in the Soviet Union needs about 200 rubles per day to support a habit. To raise the needed funds women often turn to prostitution, while men tend to resort to dealing. Almost one-third of the drugs used are obtained from legitimate medical sources. In 1987 a total of 73 medical workers were convicted of either selling or inadequately supervising drugs left in their care.

Video then cuts to interviews with directors of drug rehabilitation centers in Hungary and Poland. The latter has a particularly high success rate. Set in a rural environment, the center places particular stress on group support, individual counseling and treatment, and hard work in an environment free from undue stress. There is frequent follow-up for patients who have been cured. The average stay in this center is 3 years.

The concludes ends with Orlova urging the Soviet health authorities to follow this example.

Customs Officers Seize Heroin at Moscow Airport

LD2601024189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Customs officers at the Sheremetyevo Airport in Moscow have detained a foreign passenger who was on a transit flight to a West European city from Delhi. More than 1 and ½ kg of heroin was discovered in his double-bottomed suitcase.

Last year, Soviet customs officers confiscated about 55 kg of strong narcotics from drug traffickers.

Better Aid Services Could Cut 'High' Suicide Rate

PM1801151189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by Natalya Boyarkina, correspondent for the morality and law department, under the rubric "Every Day in This Position": "To Live!"]

[Excerpts] For the first time in 50 years the USSR State Committee for Statistics has published suicide statistics in its compendium. [passage omitted]

The State Committee for Statistics reports: In 1975 there were 66,000 suicides. In 1984—81,000. That is 30 people for every 100,000 of the population. We did not know this until 1988. We would read of suicides in France where people throw themselves off the Eiffel Tower and of FRG residents who "prefer" the noose or poison to life in a prosperous business society. But it has turned out...

The death rate from suicide in Britain, for example, is 9 per 100,000 of the population, in the United States it is 12, in the FRG 21, and in France 22. In the USSR 4 years ago it was 30. Thirty!!

Such data had not been published since the thirties, and we would maintain that we had no room for apathy, depression, or unhappiness; that there was unshakable and life-asserting "confidence in the future;" and that you only had to think of this to forget about the present, which was full of contradictions.

For a long time it was customary to consider that either mentally abnormal or weak-willed people are capable of attempting suicide. Strong and spiritually rich people find within themselves at least a vestige of will and... nothing of the kind. Suicides include many healthy and well-balanced people. There are women and men. And even children.

In developed countries suicide occupies one of the first places among the causes of death in the adult population and second place among the causes of death in children, adolescents, and young people. More than 500,000-600,000 people kill themselves in the world every year. And the number of attempted suicides is 5-10 times greater.

Soviet suicidology (the science of suicides and their causes) took shape only in the seventies. Scientists distinguish relatively stable links between suicides and many social processes.

According to sociological research data, the number of suicides increased precisely during the years of stagnation, with the peak in 1984. Some 41-60 percent of suicides are workers. Employees and specialists make up 10-19 percent. The number of suicides among children has tripled since 1960 (Leningrad data). The suicide death rate among men exceeds that for women by 200 percent—by 500 percent between the ages of 25 and 39. The largest percentage of suicides is among the elderly. The older people get, the more bitter life becomes for many of them. Among men over 70 years old 72.3 people depart this life of their own will per 100,000 of the population (3.5 people among those less than 20 years old). What lies behind this? Our "sham" mercy and paper concern for single elderly people.

The statistical compendium reports that "the high level of the suicide death rate results to a considerable degree from the spread of alcoholism." And, indeed, the monstrous figures fell in the year the well-known "decree" appeared. However, the percentage of suicides among drunkards varies between 12 and 20 percent. Between 1984 and 1987 the number of suicides dropped by 27,000, or 37 percent.

But what was it that did in the others? Why and when did they start drinking? What misfortune were they unable to cope with without this intoxicant? At present we can only guess. But we should long ago have switched from guesses to knowledge. Could these people have been saved? Yes. If... If...

If we had known, first, the scale of this misfortune.

If not for the prejudice, which has been tenacious for decades, that only "screwballs" go to a psychotherapist.

If we had known where to find a physician with this scarce specialty and had been certain that the first thing the physician would do on hearing you out would not be to report information on you to the corresponding clinic.

But what do we have?

We have the All-Union Suicidology Center headed by Ayna Grigoryevna Ambrumova, who has devoted her entire creative life to getting a hospital for people in a crisis condition. It is hard to get admitted to it, and it cannot save everyone.

There are also several sociopsychological aid offices for vast Moscow. Only few people attend them. There is nowhere to obtain information about them. Such offices are also being opened in other cities with a population of over 1 million. But people learn of their existence when they come to the capital for help.

There is also the eternally engaged "Confidence" telephone line. It is the only one, and the psychologists who can be "confided in" ov this line are numbered in single figures.

Our sociopsychological aid is dilapidated and poor. But is there a price which we would begrudge to save a human life?

TV Tours Former NKVD Labor Camp

LD2101071289 Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1910 GMT on 20 January on the "View" program carries a 40-minute video report on the "Karaganda NKVD Camp," usually shortened to "Karlag." Moscow Television reporter V. Dik accompanies an unidentified Kazakh Television reporter to the former labor camp, located at Dolinka in Kazakhstan. It is explained that the camp was set up in 1931 and continued to exist until the 1960's. D. Usov, a former prisoner, tells the journalists that the camp was as large as France. The administration building of Karlag is currently undergoing repair and will be turned in to a sanatorium.

In an interview, V. Shirokov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Dolinka Soviet, and M. Volkov, secretary of the party organization and a retired colonel, tell the journalists that the camp worked like any other Soviet institution: Orders were sent from the center and had to be carried out. A former camp guard, interviewed next to a barbed wire fence marking the camp perimeter, says that the convicts did not live in sheds, have poor food, nor were they mocked. He says the prisoners were addressed politely and lived well. While he felt sympathy for some of them, he considers the majority of political prisoners to have been rightfully convicted. Dik mentions as a famous inmate of the camp Aleksandr Leonidovich Chizhevskiy, who wrote "Dinamika Krovi," in effect a manual for future space flights.

Back in the studio, after views from a train window of endless expanses of snowy wastes, viewers are shown a copy of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in which readers are asked to write in about their own or their families' experiences at Karlag. A "collective tale" of the victims of the repressions is to be compiled.

There is the a discussion of the problem of how one should regard the guards at Karlag. Sergey Lomakin says that his grandfather was imprisoned in a camp and later shot, so it is hard for him to regard the whole subject objectively, but what is needed is for the public to be presented with the complete truth, not just about Karlag but about all the camps.

Economic

1988 Economic Results 'Extremely Modest'

PM2401150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Romanyuk article: "Relying on Economic Accountability"]

[Text] A tense and in many respects complex year has ended. The just-published report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics on the country's 1988 socioeconomic development provides quite a full idea of this. The figures inspire hope that the—extremely modest—positive trends will be developed in the economy and the social orientation of the economic reform will be consolidated. "But" must be said a great deal today: The situation is contradictory, and the results are ambiguous.

We shall begin with the main point. The overcoming of the alarming trend in past years toward a decline in the growth of national income can be called an important result of the past year. We have growth of 4.4 percent over the 1987 level (the plan was for 6.6 percent). True, if we take a yardstick that precludes double counting—net output—we will see that it is also possible to talk of an increase in our economy's dynamism.

The consumption fund's share in national income increased. Goods in industry were produced at a faster rate. For the first time in many years the plan for retail trade turnover was fulfilled. But let us not flatter ourselves. The production of agricultural output is lagging behind, revenue from foreign trade dropped, and a number of other negative factors could not be overcome.

As a result, last year R13.3 billion less national income than planned was obtained, and over the first 3 years of the 5-year plan the shortfall was R25.4 billion.

The year's results show a lack of efficiency in the work of the national economic complex. One of the most worrying symptoms is the disruption of the balance between the population's income and expenditures. In 1988, monitoring of the correlation between the growth rate of wages and labor productivity was relaxed. Only time will tell the results of the newly introduced restrictions.

Unfortunately, the new economic mechanism has not yet produced the expected return. Despite the fact that the overall plan for profits for industry and construction was fulfilled, one in ten enterprises is operating at a loss.

Many people wonder how our two most acute problems—the food and housing problems—are being resolved. And once again it must be said that there are improvements but the urgency remains. Over the last year, per capita consumption of milk and meat increased slightly. So we are not marking time.

More housing and children's preschool establishments are being built. But the plans in this sphere are still not being fulfilled. During the year, 2.2 million apartments were built and housing conditions were improved for 11 million people. At the same time, at the end of 1988, 14 million families were waiting for housing in cities and urban-type settlements alone—more than a year ago.

The USSR State Committee for Statistics report testifies that the boundaries of glasnost in the statistics sphere are gradually expanding. All the same, we are not given information about such painful processes in the economy as inflation, foreign trade debt, and the living wage.

The year 1989 is the year when the new economic mechanism will be fully assimilated. It is necessary to secure balance in the market, regulate finances and credits, consistently deepen and expand economically accountable relations in the economy, consolidate and develop its positive trends, and overcome negative ones.

Biryukova Views Inflation, Defense Industry

LD2301112789 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The Soviet Union's social and economic development up to the year 2005 will be a topic for discussion at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Aleksandra Biryukova, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (government), said at a news conference organised by the Soviet Government's Information Department here on Monday.

Asked about the role of the defence industry in resolving social issues, Biryukova, head of the Soviet Government Bureau for Social Development, said that military plants were already manufacturing many civilian items, such as TV sets and refrigerators. She said that many of the 300 Soviet plants and production shops switching over to consumer goods production belong to the Soviet defence industry.

Speaking about the growth of prices in the Soviet Union, Biryukova said that the Soviet Statistical Service is now preparing to issue figures on the Soviet price index. The information already published in the Soviet press has revealed a concealed price rise on the whole number of goods. For instance, prices for light industry goods have grown by three to five percent on average since 1985 and the price rise for some goods stands at 17-18 percent over the same period.

Bogomolov on Budget Deficit, Inflation

PM2401114089 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 3, 21-27 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 19 Jan) pp 2-4

[Interview with Academician O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, by our correspondent N. Zhelnorova: "Can Money Be 'Surplus'?"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] What is the financial situation in the country at present? We are not raising this question by accident; it is encountered very often in the editorial mail, pointing to people's concern at the deterioration in the quality of goods, the shortages we are all tired of, and the decline in confidence in the ruble.

Our correspondent N. Zhelnorova asked Academician O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, to clarify the picture.

[Zhelnorova] Oleg Timofeyevich, a very "simple" question: Why is our ruble depreciating?

[Bogomolov] The excess of the population's effective demand over the supply of goods and services on the market is now very considerable. The oversaturation of the channels of circulation with paper money, which is called inflation, is accompanied by a decline in purchasing power. Under our conditions, inflation is manifested not so much in price increases as in the formation of shortages, the disappearance of essential goods, and the disruption of the market. This is accompanied by speculation, bribery, the bribing of officials responsible for the distribution of shortage goods (corruption), and the emergence of organized crime. Without an analysis of the scale and causes of these phenomena it is hard to propose countermeasures.

[Zhelnorova] What is the scale of the inflation that has "revealed itself" in our country?

[Bogomolov] We have always associated socialism with planned influence on economic processes, and therefore we have considered inflation to be alien to us. Capitalism has already learned to regulate these processes and prevent them from taking an undesirable course. Take the United States. The Reagan administration's activity reduced inflation to a minimum, to 1.5-2 percent, after it had been in double figures.

As for our administrative system of management, many processes were basically developing on a "planned" but uncontrolled basis, that is, spontaneously. Hence inflation and chronic shortages.

According to my calculations, next year the budget deficit will total R100 billion. That is 11 percent of gross domestic product or 20 percent of the expenditure section of the state budget. Few countries have a deficit like that.

[Zhelnorova] What about the United States? Surely it has a colossal budget deficit?!

[Bogomolov] Yes, that is one of the weakest points of the American economy, but there the deficit is 3-4 percent of gross domestic product, whereas ours is 11 percent. Our budget, it is now officially stated, has long been suffering a deficit. There are several reasons for this: the fall in oil prices, the antialcohol campaign, Chernobyl, urgent social tasks. If you add this all up, it comes to about R100 billion, only a small part of which is compensated for by an increase in budget income.

[Zhelnorova] So how is the budget balanced all the same?

[Bogomolov] Only two ways of covering the budget deficit are known, if you do not count increasing the income side and reducing the expenditure side of the budget, which we cannot yet do on a perceptible scale. They are the issuing and circulation of new money, and the receipt of credits from banks by the state (increasing the domestic and foreign state debt).

[Zhelnorova] Are these processes regulated in precisely the same way in the West? How does America, for instance, deal with its budget deficit?

[Bogomolov] Yes, in the same way, but there are differences between us and the capitalist countries. The U.S. government's debt, for instance, has crossed the $1 trillion mark. American and foreign banks, firms, and private individuals act as creditors.

Our government also borrows money, first and foremost from its own state bank, from the population, and sometimes from foreign banks and governments. But the difference is that the credit resources brought in by the American Government are backed up by goods: You can buy what you like with the borrowed money, the market is full of goods, whereas the money our budget borrows from the Gosbank and the population is not fully backed up by goods and is often useless.

At present there is R280 billion in our savings banks, plus approximately one-third of that sum—in the form of cash—in the population's hands. In all, R360-370 billion. That sum is the state's debt to the population.

[Zhelnorova] And in the clearing sphere, can one talk about a money surplus, because here bonds take the place of bank notes in the accounts of enterprises, kolkhozes, and institutions?

[Bogomolov] Unfortunately, inflation takes place here, too. Money and credit resources far exceed material resources and it is often impossible to turn them into the necessary goods. Where does the money without backup in the bank accounts come from? Its source is bank credit. This is generously granted year after year to cover the budget deficit, with no hope of repayment. Many billions of rubles received by kolkhozes on credit were later written off because of the total lack of prospects for extinguishing the loan. Yet our bank did not go bankrupt. There is usually enough money, but "there is a limit to commodity resources" and construction capacities.

[Zhelnorova] Yet at the depots and storehouses and practically every enterprise there are massive stocks—for a "rainy day."

[Bogomolov] Yes, there are stocks worth approximately R470 billion in the national economy. But we do not know whether that sum corresponds to real assets because many of them figure on the balance sheets but may perhaps have ceased to exist in reality long ago. Second, it is difficult to "drag them out" of the enterprises and bring them into market circulation.

[Zhelnorova] So what should be done to make the enterprises themselves want to get rid of above-norm stocks?

[Bogomolov] We need real economic accountability, a stricter credit policy by the banks, and higher interest rates for credit. Today, enterprises receive credit at a very low interest rate, virtually free. If they paid a higher rate they would start wondering: Do we need so much, do we need to store so much?

[Zhelnorova] And how much "easier" would things be for the ruble?

[Bogomolov] As a result of the announced and concealed rises in prices, our ruble has almost halved in value compared to the sixties, or in other words, life has become considerably more costly. A slightly smaller but similar rise in prices is taking place in the noncash sphere.

[Zhelnorova] What, in your view, is the main reason for this alarming situation?

[Bogomolov] Incompetent economic leadership on the part of a number of departments: failure to understand the urgency of the problems, the habit of thinking everything can be done by means of arbitary decisions, a lack of mastery of market regulators. While rejecting the market, we were powerless before its objective laws and incapable of influencing it. Moreover, the sphere of state finance and money supply was under the jurisdiction of an apparatus that took decisions affecting the whole population virtually behind their backs.

[Zhelnorova] So let us define it more precisely, Oleg Timofeyevich: What is inflation?

[Bogomolov] Inflation is one form of invisible tax on the population. However many millions of surplus money is released into circulation, in effect the same amount is deducted from the consumer's pocket. He will not feel it at once and not directly (prices are all supposedly stable), but if there is more money, the population imperceptibly begins to pay too much.

[Zhelnorova] What is our level of inflation today?

[Bogomolov] You cannot measure it only by the price index. Prices in our country are controlled, and therefore rises are contained. The turbulent effects of inflation are felt in the disappearance of goods from the market and the increasing difficulties in "getting hold" of them. According to researchers' estimates, the annual growth in prices is 5-7 percent (in the noncash and cash areas respectively) annually. That is not so very much. In Yugoslavia, for instance, prices increase by several hundred percent a year, in Hungary about 17 percent in 1988, in Poland about 60 percent in the same year, and in China about 25 percent. The galloping inflation in Yugoslavia evens out supply and demand on the consumer market, which presents a picture of abundance.

Unless we deal with inflation and improve the financial situation, our entire economic reform is doomed to failure.

[Zhelnorova] That is easily said, but how do you do it?

[Bogomolov] Half-hearted measures will not rectify the situation. Until we manage to substantially increase the efficiency of the national economy, the potential for increasing budget income will remain modest. I rule out the simple path of transferring onto the working people's shoulders the costs of the irresponsibility engendered by the administrative system of management. Increased taxes and prices, compulsory loans from the population, and monetary reform are unacceptable methods of supplementing the state's coffers. That does not mean that any amendment to retail prices and taxes is ruled out in principle.

Today the solution must be sought mainly in the reduction of state spending. The enormous spending on defense is ruinous to the economy and must be reduced by using cheaper means, both military and, especially, political, to ensure security. And here, too, we have taken the first important steps and embarked on the reassignment of a number of military production units for civilian purposes, on conversion.

Another point is that our technical potential and ambitions, which sometimes cost capital investments running into many billions of rubles, must be brought more into line with the people's pocketbooks. When the stores are completely empty, you do not necessarily have to be the first on Mars.

Prestige construction projects that take many decades to pay for themselves, the digging of useless canals, land reclamation that is destructive to nature and does not yield the promised benefit, billions of rubles frozen for many years in uncompleted construction projects, a bureaucratic apparatus swollen beyond all decency, unprecedented losses and the waste of agricultural produce, unjustified subsidies to loss-making enterprises, and so forth—these are spheres where considerable sums of state money could be saved and budget expenditures reduced.

But, of course, in the struggle against inflation it is even more important to step up the supply of goods. Unsatisfied demand on the consumer market is estimated by various specialists at sums varying between R70 and R150 billion. This money exerts pressure on the market, disrupts it, and seeks goods to buy. The state should provide the goods to cover this money and take it out of circulation, which would radically improve the market and the money supply. In short, it is necessary to repay part of the debt borrowed from the people.

[Zhelnorova] An absolutely impossible task under present-day conditions...

[Bogomolov] Some progress is already being made: The expansion of the capacities of light and food industry, the switching of a number of military production units to the production of equipment for agro-industry, the restructuring of agrarian relations on lease contract principles. But we must also think about bringing new goods into market circulation, goods that we removed from circulation for ideological reasons, believing that under socialism the market should be curtailed and that development of the market is fraught with the danger of capitalist degeneration.

[Zhelnorova] What goods are you talking about, when everything that is produced is sold, unless, of course, you count unmarketable goods?

[Bogomolov] It is time we started including in market turnover housing, the land that is allocated to a house or dacha, and garden plots. Small enterprises could be sold

more widely to cooperative family collectives, especially where these enterprises are loss-making. The market in securities—stocks and shares—should be gradually developed. It could absorb part of the accumulations of enterprises, cooperatives, and the population, provided, of course, that the securities bring their owners a bigger income than investments in the savings bank.

It is not easy to go over to market relations in these spheres. There are ideological dogmas, psychological unpreparedness, and social difficulties.

[Zhelnorova] You propose the sale of apartments. But what about the poor-off, of whom there are a good many in our country?

[Bogomolov] The state should simply hand housing over to the personal ownership of the low-income strata of the population. Those who have average incomes should be sold housing on preferential terms. For many reasons, it is important to turn the apartment tenant into the apartment owner. He would have in his ownership a vitally important asset that could be sold or handed down by inheritance. For many people, receiving housing free or at a low price as their personal property would compensate for losses arising from price increases, inflation, and so forth.

[Zhelnorova] Then our people, who are noted for their great conservatism and have absorbed with their mothers' milk the idea that socialism means free housing, education, and health care, will say: What kind of socialism is this, if you must pay for everything?

[Bogomolov] If socialism is associated only with free housing and other assets, such as land, then it must be admitted that it does not exist in a number of countries, such as Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Poland, where housing and land are not, in most cases, the property of the whole people.

Why should we ignore the natural desire of many people to have assured ownership of their own house and the land beneath it, or their apartment, so as to be able freely to pass it on to relatives, rather than resorting to subterfuge and deception? Why should people always be dependent on well-disposed state officials and have to humiliate themselves by begging them to improve their housing conditions?

Receiving or buying housing as personal property would make it possible if not to remove tens of billions of rubles from circulation, at least to restrict their utilization. That could slow down the inflationary process. Moreover, the existence of a market for housing rationalizes its distribution. We have so much empty housing space and so many people would prefer to have a more modest space and sell or rent the surplus.

This also applies to plots of land for dachas and houses and the cultivation of orchards and gardens. We have a surplus of vacant land that brings in no income and becomes overgrown. Why, one wonders, has the people's property become no one's property? Is it not better to hand it over or sell it to people who will cultivate it?

[Zhelnorova] But would it not turn out that the rich (and some people might have large sums of "dishonest" money) would buy up all the land that was sold? And we would then be giving them a very big present by creating the opportunity for investing capital.

[Bogomolov] In order to confirm that money has been "earned," we should make use of income declarations, as is done throughout the civilized world, and introduce a system of financial control. The sale of part of the state's land stocks would make it possible to provide goods to cover a certain sum of "surplus" money.

[Zhelnorova] What is the sum of money now in circulation, by the way?

[Bogomolov] Unfortunately these figures are not published, which causes concern, since the situation is not under the control of the Supreme Soviet or the public, although it affects the interests of the whole people.

[Zhelnorova] What else could be proposed to normalize our money supply?

[Bogomolov] A switch to the share form of ownership for a whole series of enterprises. The buying out of an enterprise by its own collective, the issuing of stocks and shares. That is to say, the state has the potential to take a considerable sum of money out of circulation by selling fixed capital to the people who operate it. "No one's" property acquires an owner, and lossmaking enterprises begin to make a profit.

In my view, the state has the opportunity to substantially increase sales of construction materials to the population by mothballing a proportion of unpromising construction projects, and the same applies to machine tools, machines, transport facilities, and premises for cooperative and individual labor activity.

It is possible to buy very advantageously from abroad a number of types of consumer technology, including personal computers and video recorders. Given the present price in our country, they offer profits. And this is done in all the socialist countries.

[Zhelnorova] But people say we have no currency for buying imported goods.

[Bogomolov] Yes, our balance of payments is in deficit. We spend huge sums on importing grain and rolled metal, on things that the country could produce itself, given a sensible policy and economic relations. We buy equipment from abroad and then it is not installed for

years on end and becomes obsolete. We should spend a proportion of currency resources on the purchase of consumer goods. At present, our currency reserves are shared out not on the basis of the principles of efficiency of use, but on the basis of the economic strength of particular ministries.

[Zhelnorova] Is an improvement in the financial situation possible in the short term?

[Bogomolov] It is possible, but it needs strong political will. It is necessary to discard many prejudices and act decisively, otherwise we will encounter colossal consequences, not only economic, but also social.

A balanced market in which the population's effective demand is offset by a corresponding quantity of goods in the necessary range means, basically, an improvement in the living standard, or quality of life, with the population's income remaining the same—a 50 percent improvement! We will considerably alleviate our lives, because now there is a constant struggle against obstacles that are incomprehensible to anyone living in the modern world.

Agricultural

PRAVDA Reports 13 Jan Agrarian Conference

PM1901120189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Improving Agro-Industrial Complex Management. Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] It has already been reported that ways to improve the management of the country's agro-industrial complex on a democratic basis in the conditions of active development of new economic relations were examined at a conference held in the CPSU Central Committee 13 January. Those invited to attend included secretaries of a number of party raykoms, obkoms, and kraykoms and of union republic Communist Party central committees; chairmen of union republic councils of ministers and of oblast, kray, and republic agro-industrial committees; general directors of agricultural combines; leaders of agro-industrial associations, agrofirms, agro-trade enterprises, and science-production and production systems; chairmen of kolkhozes; directors of sovkhozes and processing enterprises; agrarian scientists; lease contractors; officials from a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of the mass media.

Opening the conference, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said:

Our work of preparation for the party Central Committee plenum on questions of agrarian policy, due to be held in March, has entered its decisive stage. It will be an important plenum. I think that even this adjective is inadequate to describe the significance of the forthcoming party forum. This is because it will discuss a cardinal avenue of our domestic policy.

When we talk about agrarian policy and the agrarian complex, we have in mind primarily the food question—one of the most important problems facing any state. This is the question we must resolve in conditions of restructuring on the basis of new approaches, and we must resolve it properly and fully. We all realize that the solution of the food question is dragging on. But we are confident that we have the economic, social, and natural conditions to resolve the problem.

When we talk about agrarian policy, we bear in mind that this is a matter concerning the lives of people engaged in the work of growing grain—the kolkhoz peasantry and the working class. Of course, no agrarian policy can be effective, productive, and fruitful unless it takes into account the interests of rural working people—their social, economic, and cultural interests and the broad range of people's interests and aspirations.

When we talk about agrarian policy we bear in mind the specific features of this sector, this national economic agro-industrial complex—the fact that it functions subject to specific natural conditions. The sector is linked to nature, to direct contact with nature. This leaves a tremendous mark on all the activity of rural working people. We cannot ignore nature and, moreover, it is only on the basis of harmony with nature and a respectful attitude to it that agricultural production can be confidently conducted and developed not only today but also tomorrow. These are major issues, comrades. Not everything has worked out well in this sphere, and many mistakes have been committed—in land reclamation as well as in crop farming systems. At times we have, to be frank, simply raped nature instead of studying its specific features in every region, and I would even go so far as to say on every kolkhoz and in every field.

When we talk about agriculture, about the agrarian complex, we always bear in mind the main aspect—the soil and the man tilling the soil. Soil and people—this is the succinct formula of agrarian policy. A lot is interconnected here. We lost a lot by depeasantizing the land in the sense that we tore people away from the land and the means of production, thus delivering a major blow against all agrarian work and primarily against people's attitude to the land. Furthermore, the process of transforming production forces in the country by no means always observed the interests of the agrarian sector and took no account of the fact that the land must be treated with the utmost responsibility.

Just look at the losses: Every hydroelectric power station means vast areas of lost floodlands. And yet those water meadows and pastures used to be agriculturally productive. We are actually talking about millions of hectares of the very best fields that provided the basis for stockraising on many farms. There you have another blunder.

In short, agrarian work is work on a grand scale affecting the foundation of our entire society's life, and this work cannot be done without harmony with the national economy's sectors, without maintaining the appropriate relations of equivalence. There were times when it was historically necessary to, as it were, lean on the countryside and mobilize its resources for the creation of an industrial potential. This necessity was dictated by a certain historical period. But this situation became the norm in our country. It deformed the entire agrarian policy and consequently agrarian practice, and it had a grave effect on the state and the results produced by agriculture. We cannot accept or tolerate such a situation. So we are faced with the question of harmonization and equivalence. The entire national economic complex and all its sectors must develop dynamically, in a state of interlinkage. It is necessary to discover mechanisms that will maintain this harmony, these relations of equivalence.

Look at how many sundry anomalies exist in the agrarian sector itself. This demands close examination. We have raised a few questions at the center of all these problems: the question of radical restructuring of economic relations, the provision of social amenities in the countryside, and of course the question of land. I say this because our conversation today is part of the large-scale preparatory work being done for the plenum.

We must come to the plenum thoroughly equipped to evaluate the path we have travelled and the achievements we have made and to learn lessons from the blunders that have been committed. We must see the real picture of the state of affairs in today's agrarian sector in order to put forward a modern agrarian policy which—relying on the achievements, rejecting the mistakes, and rectifying the deformations that have been allowed to develop in this important sphere of our economy—will guide us toward fruitful work in line with our society's interests.

We must come to the plenum with a well thought-out concept. This is politics. We are not setting ourselves the task of solving every single specific issue at this plenum. But we all are duty-bound to create the political prerequisites and elaborate guidelines that will take everything into account and pave the way for us to confidently develop the agro-industrial complex and solve the food problem as early as possible. Within the framework of meetings like today's (and there have been several such meetings already) we have discussed the state of affairs in various sections of the agrarian sector and analyzed and appraised the experience accumulated since the Central Committee May (1982) Plenum, including experience in the development of various forms of contracts, lease relations, social reorganization of the countryside, economic mutual relations with other sectors, and much, much else besides.

The task of our meeting today is to provide an informal, frank, and open exchange of opinions and suggestions on accumulated problems. You don't have to say more than a few words; the important point is to express your viewpoint. It is necessary to talk objectively and honestly. The topic of our conversation concerns the management of agricultural production, and what form it should take at kolkhoz and sovkhoz level and in the lowest primary link in the development of lease relations. We hear different views expressed about kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Our view on their role and importance is well known. We uphold it not simply for the sake of certain commitments, but in essence because we believe in the correctness of such an approach.

We must examine the future nature of the management of and collaboration between primary links at the rural rayon level. There is an ongoing process whereby, for example, a cooperative of cooperatives emerges on a kolkhoz on the basis of the development of lease relations. This can occur only on the base of broad democracy. Many rayons, utilizing the experience of Tula Oblast, are setting up councils of directors and of cooperative leaders. These councils determine all policy, all interconnections in order to develop a given rayon's potential. As for the agro-industrial committee apparatus, it occupies its proper position in such cases—it services the council and helps it solve problems.

Now the rayon level link is facing the questions of how to help farms market their produce, how to process it, how to better conduct capital construction by joint efforts, what questions need priority solutions, and which avenues to follow in developing the cooperative system. This is the kind of help kolkhozes need, instead of apparatus representatives lecturing peasants on how to sow, how to plow, and so on. Nowadays even a cooperative chairman, a kolkhoz board chairman, or a sovkhoz director is no longer in a position to issue edicts and dictate to cooperative members. He has his say whenever problems of an ecological or veterinary nature arise, when the issue concerns questions of scientific and technical progress. Here is today's distinctive slogan: Help without interfering.

To continue: What is the state of affairs at oblast and kray level? Why is it that they still maintain all the production subdivisions whose task is to issue commands? This means that correct solutions are found at rayon, kolkhoz, or sovkhoz level while a large bureaucratic command apparatus is still maintained at oblast, republic, and even central level. Why? So that some leader, without the slightest idea of what is produced on kolkhozes, can issue sundry unnecessary and at times even harmful instructions.

We want to clarify all these questions today. This is very important, because restructuring is now under way and major changes are taking place. We have brought to light much that is useful and prompted by life itself, but all this comes up against the obsolete forms of management

to which many leaders and specialists still cling. They are unwilling to take on the burden of concerns about a swifter solution to the problem of food supplies in the country.

We must galvanize our specialists. People realize that specialists are necessary. As soon as they start shaping lease relations and set up a cooperative, they invite a specialist to join their collective—someone who knows his work and can do it.

This, comrades, is the topic of our conversation today. I want to call on you once more: Let us speak frankly. What should be done, how are we to improve the process of economic relations, the entire process of restructuring in the countryside, so as to really unfold its tremendous potential? [Gorbachev ends]

A report was delivered at the conference by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom. He announced that, in line with the 19th all-union party conference decisions on the expansion of union republics' rights, proposals have been drafted to improve the system for managing agro-industrial production in the country. The aim of these proposals is to ensure the creation of real conditions for more autonomy by regions in solving questions of food supplies, eliminating excessive centralization in this work, granting broader rights to the basic production link—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing enterprises—primarily on the basis of economic methods, and comprehensively assisting the development of the cooperative movement in the countryside.

There are provisions to simplify the management structure of the agro-industrial complex as much as possible and to enhance the efficiency of management.

The aim is to more actively mobilize the regions' reserves and potential for building up agricultural production and improving food supplies for the population by utilizing economic accountability, self-management, and self-financing.

The speaker recalled that restructuring in agriculture and in industry's food sectors began after the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum. It was during that period that a firm course of intensifying the role of economic methods of management was adopted. The Law on the State Enterprise, the Law on the Cooperative System, and the party Central Committee and government resolution on the transfer of agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing have exceptionally great importance for the restructuring of production relations in the countryside. The implementation of these and a series of other documents created conditions for the development of new forms of organization of public-sector production most fully in line with the intended transformations.

These are primarily the collective and lease contracts and the various cooperatives within kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Fundamentally new types of agro-industrial formations have emerged over the past few years—rayon agro-industrial associations, agrocombines, agrofirms, agro-trade enterprises, and sundry production and science-production systems and associations. Even so, however, the speaker went on, the agro-industrial complex still maintains excessive centralization in management and the desire to solve many trivial issues at the top level of management. The past years of the 5-year plan period have also shown that the current multitier organizational structure of management of agro-industrial production clashes more and more often with the new principles of economic management, especially in connection with the development of the cooperative movement and lease relations in the countryside and the transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing.

Describing the new principles of management in different links of the agro-industrial complex, the speaker emphasized that kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been and still remain the basis of the socialist system of agriculture, the main source for creating stable food stocks in the country. Today it is a matter of breathing fresh life into the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system through the maximum improvement of production relations and the development of intrafarm cooperatives and lease contracts. In other words, it is necessary to overcome the peasant's alienation from the land and the means of production and make him the proper master. Daily practice offers examples of successful development of new organizational forms within the framework of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Today the basic production links on kolkhozes and sovkhozes are in essence turning into associations of primary labor collectives based on lease relations and cooperative principles of activity. Kolkhoz members and workers participate in self-management here more broadly and more genuinely than ever before.

In such cases, kolkhozes or sovkhozes do not breach the integrity of their economic management system, and the administration's management functions concentrate more and more on the creation of conditions for efficient functioning by primary labor collectives. Such an approach to building a management system has proved its worth on many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Using the "Pobeda" Kolkhoz in Rostov Oblast's Matveyevo-Kurganskiy Rayon as an example, the speaker demonstrated the high effectiveness of production relations based on the principles of economic accountability and the development of autonomy and democratic principles in the management of public sector production.

New types of cooperatives, as well as family labor peasant farms, can also develop in agricultural production.

It is perfectly understandable that lease contract and family labor peasant farms will be unable to work autonomously, they will—by the logic of development—either attach themselves to kolkhozes and sovkhozes or unite within cooperative unions, to be in a better position to provide service facilities and solve the problems of marketing and supplies.

At rayon level, the management of kolkhoz and sovkhoz economic activity must take shape from below; it must originate from enterprises. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the organizations serving them unite and form a council as a rayon organ for economic management, performing functions to back up the normal activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, not to command them, but only to perform the management functions they need. The council must be elected by representatives of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other organizations and must have a working apparatus to organize the fulfillment of decisions made by the council, but not to command the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Concerning the activity of agrocombines, agrofirms, agro-trade associations, and production and science-production systems, the speaker emphasized that membership in these formations must be strictly voluntary.

How do we perceive management at the oblast, kray, and autonomous republic levels? Here it might also be possible to elect councils to manage the oblast, kray, and autonomous republic agro-industrial associations.

There must be no stereotype when setting up management structures, the speaker went on. There is no need to cast everything in the same mold. It is necessary to proceed from specific conditions in order to free agro-industrial committees from command functions and routine leadership of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises, so they can focus their energy and attention on those questions that it is impossible or less effective to solve at farm or rayon level.

The planned restructuring of organizational structures in the rayon, oblast, kray, and republic agro-industrial complexes will logically lead to the necessity to change management functions at union level.

The food problem today is the most important question of the country's economic and social development. In this context, it will become necessary to continue ensuring priority for the agro-industrial complex. Much more remains to be done for the development of the social sphere in the countryside and the consolidation of the material and technical base, especially in the processing industry, storage, and transportation. The center's most important task is to prepare major statewide programs, taking into account the fullest possible utilization of every region's potential and specific features. Much work has to be done in the sphere of regulating economic relations within agro-industrial production itself and with the other national economic complexes. This includes questions of equivalent exchange between the agro-industrial complex and the industrial sector, and the elaboration of economic normatives.

Another one of the center's most important functions must be to implement measures for improvement of the agro-industrial complex's economic mechanism; the development of forms for the organization of production, lease relations, and the cooperative movement; the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress; and the active involvement of the country's agro-industrial enterprises in the international division of labor.

In conclusion, the speaker said:

Bearing in mind the accumulated experience and the contemporary requirements, we must once more think through and more accurately define the functions and structures of central and republican management organs of the agro-industrial complex and ensure the balanced implementation of this restructuring. [Murakhovskiy ends]

Kolkhozes, in other words cooperatives, are the highest form of the development of economic mutual relations in the countryside. This was the idea expressed by N.M. Podgornov, director of Vologda Oblast's "Avrora" Sovkhoz, in his speech. The "Avrora" Sovkhoz, he said, now operates on full economic accountability and its collective has leased the fixed assets. I personally, the director went on, cannot imagine economic accountability without leasing or leasing without economic accountability. It is inconceivable. The one cannot exist without the other. If we pursue this idea further, he believes, kolkhozes are a higher form than sovkhozes, which are state enterprises.

The speaker then went on to touch on a question that perturbs many people in the countryside today: The agro-industrial complex literally swamps accountability, be it administrative or statistical. Accountancy records still leave much to be desired, and there is no proper order in the supply of material and technical resources to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The prevailing scheme must be changed, and accountability must be identical: We must know how much output has been sold, what sort of output, and what fixed and circulating capital we have at our disposal.

Accountancy records must be simple enough to be comprehensible to every worker, to every member of a leasing collective.

V.A. Starodubtsev, chairman of Tula Oblast's "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association, focused attention in his speech mainly on an analysis of the restructuring of economic relations and the management of the country's agro-industrial complex.

The idea of a bureaucratic system of management organs, of watchful leadership and monitoring of agricultural and other enterprises and organizations, is again being promoted. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the producers of raw materials and food, are again being perceived as objects to be managed by this system.

I find this painful persistence totally incomprehensible, the speaker said. The way out must be sought by ensuring that all spheres of the country's agro-industrial complex—the processing industry, the production infrastructure, and production of the means of production—are basically managed by representatives of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and operate in line with their interests. The right to form voluntary associations of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other food producers must be granted at rayon, oblast, kray, regional, or union level.

At rayon level, it is necessary to integrate enterprises on the basis of cooperatives of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, enterprises and organizations for the procurement, transportation, and processing of raw materials, trade, and the production infrastructure. At oblast, republic, and union levels, it would be expedient to orient agro-industrial associations toward the solution of questions like production of the means of production, material and technical supplies, scientific backup for the agro-industrial complex, and other areas.

Obviously, today we must recognize the need to separate the functions of state and economic management of the country's agro-industrial complex. He went on to dwell on the need for an effective rather than just formal dissemination of the experience of agro-industrial associations, which have convincingly proved that they are economically and administratively worthwhile.

It is necessary to overcome the old attitude to the countryside as supplier of raw materials. This is why there is a need for serious reinterpretation, analysis, and a more extensive approach to the solution of numerous economic tasks within the agro-industrial complex.

The radical solution of the food problem and the satisfaction of the food market now demand a comprehensive approach to and implementation of a whole series of complex and pressing problems of an economic, organizational, and technological nature, I.I. Lukinov, vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, said. In his speech he dwelt on questions concerning the economic system and economic regulations. Unless we seriously master the methods of economic management—especially the methods of price, finance, and credit regulations and the methods and system of investment and structural policy—we will score no particular successes, regardless of how much we might improve the organizational forms of production management.

In the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, the speaker announced, we conducted a thorough analysis of trends in the movement of production costs, prime costs, prices, and production profitability, beginning with industry's extracting sectors and ending with the manufacture of consumer goods, including the agro-industrial complex.

The point is that in the last 25 years, in the scientist's opinion, there has indeed been a global increase in production costs. The point is that for a long time now, agriculture has served as a kind of investment donor to the country's economy because of the system of non-equivalent prices.

Proceeding from this premise, the speaker advocated the need for price reform and dwelt on the principles he considers appropriate for its implementation.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, who spoke next, noted that the prevailing system, with its dictatorial methods of management, is detached from producers and consumers, lacks the necessary flexibility, and is still not dominated by economic methods of management.

An obvious contradiction has emerged between producers who persistently promote economic autonomy, and the top echelon of management, which still employs administrative methods.

This is why, the speaker said, we are profoundly convinced that in the conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing, there is a pressing need to transfer many management functions of the agro-industrial complex directly to local soviet and economic organs.

In the speaker's opinion, the republic must develop new production formations capable of conducting expanded reproduction in market conditions and of solving social problems by using its own accumulations. At present the republic is completing reorganization of its agro-industrial complex, and its administrative management apparatus is being cut back. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing enterprises, and associations are of exceptional importance in this process in terms of expanding their autonomy.

The floor was given to K.V. Kunitskiy, general director of Moscow Oblast's "Ramenskiy" Agrocombine.

If I were asked today for my opinion about agro-industrial combines like "Kuban," "Ramenskiy," and others, or about the "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association, I would vote with both hands in favor of this form of management for the agro-industrial complex, he said. Why? Because we are creating these new formations on a democratic basis, especially now that we are experiencing the acute effect of the food problem and when it is necessary to solve it at a faster pace.

Speaking about the "Ramenskiy" Agrocombine's work, its leader emphasized that all 53 enterprises and organizations within the combine work profitably and operate on full economic accountability.

M.S. Gorbachev asked the speaker to describe in more detail the farm's mutual relations with various links of the agro-industrial complex management and the extent to which farms and production units need them.

K.V. Kunitskiy. It is easier to work without overseers. They piped down for a certain length of time, but now they have started raising their heads again, beginning once more to prescribe to us production quotas, routes, and destinations for our vegetables, and a whole series of other matters. Matters have reached the point where, literally a few days ago, we received a telegram signed by the Union Agro-Industrial Committee and the Agricultural Bank telling us that local branches of the Gosbank and the Agricultural Bank must now be permitted, apparently, to directly monitor wage costs on every farm.

Replying to M.S. Gorbachev's question about the development of lease relations within the agrocombine's framework, the "Ramenskiy" director cited the example of "Zavorovo" Sovkhoz, which switched entirely to lease contracts. It set up 10 cooperatives—2 for crop farming, 4 for stock raising, a motor vehicles transportation cooperative, a mechanical workshop, a construction workers' cooperative, and a cooperative of housing and consumer service workers. Less than 1 year has passed since then, and the specific results are there to be seen. There has been an especially swift improvement in output quality. The farm now has 89 families working on family contracts.

I believe, the speaker said in conclusion, that lease contracts must be developed primarily within sovkhozes and kolkhozes because this would not only bring about an increase in output but would also make it possible to solve the main task—that of firmly establishing the master on the land.

The floor was taken by V.A. Gulov, chairman of Matveyevo-Kurganskiy Rayon's "Pobeda" Kolkhoz. He expressed total agreement with those who believe that kolkhozes and sovkhozes must provide the basis of agricultural production. He backed his opinion with data proving the solid economic position of the farm he heads.

The speaker advocated further development of subsidiary operations, rational and swift solution of the problem of kolkhoz and sovkhoz indebtedness, and more attention to social, cultural, and consumer services questions. The kolkhoz kindergarten is sited in makeshift premises and the school building has been dilapidated for a long time. But repairs are being put off; the farm lacks construction materials. And the city offers less help to the countryside.

Speaking about the need for freedom in planning, the kolkhoz chairman emphasized the need for an economic lever that would boost the farm's interest in producing the output the state needs most urgently.

Yu. M. Khusainov, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Gosagroprom, described in his speech the significant functional changes in the apparatus of oblast agro-industrial committees. He noted that there has also been a fundamental restructuring of management in rayon agro-industrial associations. The switch to elected economic management organs has been implemented everywhere, and rayon association councils have been elected, operating on democratic, economic accountability principles. Councils use their discretion to determine the principles of mutual relations between farms and service organizations.

Much is being done in the republic to ensure that rayon associations become scientific organization centers in regard to the assimilation of economic methods of management and the introduction of resource-saving technologies and advanced crop farming and stockraising systems.

In the speaker's opinion, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are the basic form of organization in agricultural commodity production. It would obviously be expedient to give local organs the power to authorize changes in the form of ownership in a number of cases, namely to transform individual low-profitability state enterprises into collective farms.

The speaker touched on a series of topical problems linked with planning, the management system, the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production, and the introduction of economic accountability and self-financing.

I am convinced, Academician V.A. Tikhonov of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences said, that not a single major economic system can exist based only on large-scale, highly concentrated enterprises. We will never succeed in attaining the necessary balance coupled with dynamic proportions if we aim only at a high level of production concentration.

Any economic system—and this is proved by world experience—is always made up of a combination of large, medium, and small producers and even non-production enterprises. Only such a system can reproduce the flexible mechanism necessary to enable these enterprises to collaborate and establish a sufficiently maneuverable structure which can, whenever necessary, change in line with the changing social needs for products.

Going on to dwell on the problems of fixing prices for production equipment, the speaker suggested the setting of minimum and maximum price levels instead of monopoly prices, as currently fixed by the State Committee for Prices. Should the set price level be exceeded

by a monopoly industrialist who produces combine harvesters and enjoys a monopoly market in trading with these machines, the state would step in with a tax that would force the producer to seek out opportunities to reduce costs and prices.

In the conditions of the new management system, the speaker went on, the economic immunity of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other farms must be guaranteed. These rights could be guaranteed by separating landholding as an object of economic management from state ownership of the land, and consolidating the autonomous holding of land by kolkhozes and sovkhozes by means of a definite legal document—the contract. The state, as owner of this land, would exercise its property rights by receiving a fixed payment for the holding of the land.

V.M. Repshas, director of the Lithuanian SSR's "Vidmantay" Agro-Trade Sovkhoz, took the floor. We focus attention mainly on the structure and scheme of management, he said, but give little attention to economic methods of management, prices, credits, foreign ties, and equivalent exchange.

The speaker went on to describe the work done by the enterprise he heads in supplying the Palanga resort with food. Dwelling on the problems of the sovkhoz's mutual relations with its partners, both inside and outside the rayon, he drew attention to the importance of setting up its own processing industry and the granting of more autonomy as regards the solution of economic management questions at the local level.

Now, the speaker declared, a lease contractor cannot exist on his own, without the sovkhoz or kolkhoz. We must utilize the existing infrastructure in our quest for new forms. In order to boost the efficiency of work by specialists and leaders, it is necessary to make their pay dependent on the output produced.

In conclusion, the speaker touched on the problem of material and technical supplies and the fixing of product prices.

Major changes have occurred recently in management structures, together with improvements in the economic mechanism. Unfortunately, however, we have to this day been unable to fully satisfy the demand for foodstuffs, G.A. Bekker, chairman of the "Slavgorodskoye" Agro-Industrial Association Council and chairman of the Karl Marx Kolkhoz in Altay Kray's Slavgorodskiy Rayon, said.

The main reason for this, the speaker believes, is that the economic reform is progressing too slowly and its effect is uneven and at times even contradictory in some links. The transfer of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial complex enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing, the introduction of lease relations, and the adoption of laws on the socialist enterprise and the cooperative system, he said, have created a fundamentally new situation in the economy that demands the restructuring of the entire management pyramid. Hitherto, however, there have been attempts to build relations of economic accountability while preserving the administrative edict ladder.

We, the farm leader went on, are in favor of local organs being able to orient and interest farms in the production of foods needed by a given region's population to actually satisfy current needs. If, for example, there is a current need for grain, then we should be able to maneuver accordingly and sell more grain.

But the temporary provisions for the procedure for formulating state orders in 1989-1990, as ratified by the USSR Council of Ministers, say that kray authroities—who will notify agro-industrial committees, agrofirms, and associations—will be notified of state orders for agricultural produce. As for farms, all they need do is "stand at attention" and obey the orders issued from above.

M.S. Gorbachev. This question has been discussed over and over again, and state orders are nevertheless still with us. Some people say: We will produce whatever we want. And yet, we are still inexperienced in practical price formation and pricing policy, as we are also in taxation policy. All this is still to be worked out in our country. What is going to happen? Let us jointly solve the questions of prices, incentives, and orders. Let us jointly seek correct answers and options.

G.A. Bekker. I see your point. I do not advocate anarchy in the production of agricultural output. What I want to see is farms being somehow more interested in producing the products that are needed now. There must be price regulation.

Something else: It is essential to improve material and technical supplies. Many people asked here today whether we actually need the Agrosnab [expansion unknown], whether we need supply organizations. They are all necessary. This goes without saying.

The floor was given to N.I. Popov, chairman of the "Len" Production System Council and chairman of the "Mir" Kolkhoz in Kalinin Oblast's Torzhokskiy Rayon.

Over the last few years, he announced, the net profit per hectare sown to flax and paid into the state coffers amounts to R2,700-2,800. So we are at a loss to understand the talk about reducing the area sown to flax. We love this crop; we have learned to cultivate it using family, lease, and collective contracts, and we are trying to establish these contracts within the system.

What prompted us to set up a fiber production agro-industrial system? Adjacent farms were delivering their flax output to five flax plants, two of which are situated outside our rayon. A lot of money was being spent on acquiring transportation from motor vehicle bases.

We brought the leaders together and decided to set up the system. Its task is to fulfill state orders for fiber.

People in Kazakhstan are firmly convinced that kolkhozes and sovkhozes must remain the base foundation of the development of socialist agricultural production, N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the republic council of ministers, declared. In this context, he touched on the question of relations with economic management specialists. We must work with the valuable pool of cadres at our agriculture's disposal to ensure that they understand the essence of the new production relations.

Take the rayon agro-industrial associations, for example. Nothing but a name. If we speak about a production association in industry, it is really an association. We have been tinkering with reorganization in the countryside since 1985. If this is to be the last of it, then I am all in favor.

The speaker then went on to dwell in detail on proposals regarding the new structure of agro-industrial complex management at all levels. In his opinion, the republic ought to retain its Gosagroprom in its present form. But this organ must be truly effective; it must look after everything.

In conclusion, the speaker drew attention to the need to improve attitudes to the solution of the countryside's social problems, the development of processing sectors, and the transfer of agro-industrial complex enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing.

A.A. Kalnynsh, director of the Latvian SSR Gosagroprom Economics Scientific Research Institute, dwelt on the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the new economic conditions. Economically sound farms have no need for any radical internal organizational or economic changes, and they will remain the basic long-term form of food production.

The creation of farmstead enterprises [fermerskiye khozyaystva] opens up a new avenue. They ought to function in parallel with kolkhozes and sovkhozes as autonomous and independent economic formations. It is possible to set up such forms of economic management because sizable areas of agricultural land in kolkhoz and sovkhoz state forestry stocks are either unutilized or underutilized. A certain quantity of buildings in former farmsteads are also deserted.

Touching on the problems of agro-industrial complex management at republic level, the speaker stressed that republic-level economic formations can take the form of cooperatives for different types of production and technical services: for equipment maintenance, the construction of premises, and land reclamation installations; for the production and processing of output like milk, cattle, and poultry; and for material and technical supplies. In parallel with this, there must be a republic-level state organ in the form of an agro-industrial committee or ministry that would perform the functions of a state inspectorate.

On the other hand, this organ must protect the interests of the agro-industrial complex against other spheres of the national economy and protect consumers' interests to ensure that they can buy ecologically pure and conveniently packaged produce no matter where they live.

The speaker submitted a proposal to create a regional association for agricultural machine building that would comprise not only all specialized agricultural machine building plants, but also the machine testing stations and the appropriate design bureaus.

V.I. Postnikov, general director of Stavropol Kray's "Stavropolskoye" Broiler Chicken Production Association, spoke about overcoming administrative, bureaucratic methods of leadership "from above." The sector, he said, has organized cooperatives which have given full autonomy to farms. What economic levers were used to ensure this autonomy?

First, elections and collegial management bodies. Second, all interfarm relations among the farm's 37 cooperatives were switched to a commercial basis. Intradepartmental prices are in effect, and all relations between cooperatives boil down to buying and selling. No other relations exist. Everything is contract-based.

Third, and perhaps most important, is the total rejection of any centralization of liquid assets. We, the general director said, have no centralized funds at all. Everything that is earned is retained by the farm. Even the broiler association apparatus exists on earnings from the sale of computer programs and foreign trade operations. Nobody can say now that we are undermining farms' autonomy.

And last, only 30 persons are left in management jobs. They deal with a limited range of questions. For example, the general director does not have authority to dismiss directors, to appoint directors, to punish, or to cancel bonus payments. All this is the association council's prerogative.

At the 19th party conference, the general director went on, I said that the ministry was altogether unnecessary. Now I admit that I was wrong. There must be a ministry with its own range of tasks, or agro-industrial committees in their present form from top to bottom. There must be leadership without fail, because the bulk of the business is concentrated there.

Leadership in the form of the Gosagroprom is necessary, V.A. Plyutinskiy, chairman of Rovno Oblast's "Zarya" Agrofirm, said in his speech. No orchestra can perform without a conductor. But there is no need for a ramified

superstructure in agriculture. Someone has to pay for the fuel for the personal motor vehicles. Of course, the speaker believes, this is wrong.

The speaker expressed the opinion that it is necessary to be bolder in applying positive experience gained by our friends in the socialist countries and by farmers in capitalist countries. People's initiative must be unfettered. There must be more trust in farm leaders. There is no need to be afraid.

M.S. Gorbachev. This is exactly what I am striving for. We must arrive at the plenum properly prepared on all main questions. If we fail to answer the main questions at the plenum, we might as well do without the plenum. We are enmeshed in fear; we are taking only small steps forward. And yet our experience is colossal, and we must learn lessons from it.

V.A. Plyutinskiy. There are many specialists on our farm; they head agricultural and industrial enterprises alike. We are grateful that we have been given power. Nobody plans anything on our behalf; nobody imposes anything on us. We are pursuing the party and state line: to do as much and as cheaply as possible, to earn more profit.

Now, the speaker emphasized, we have democracy and glasnost; now is the time of restructuring. This is very important. We work with people; everyone knows why he is working; everyone knows that he is trusted.

The speaker touched on certain problems of price formation; the processing of agricultural produce; lease relations; and social, cultural, and consumer services problems.

The conference was addressed by V.P. Trubin, chairman of the "Shugarovo" Cooperative in Moscow Oblast's Stupinskiy Rayon. He has spent more than one-half of his life working as sovkhoz machine operator. The way things were in the past, the speaker said, whether I worked or took time off, I still earned almost R6 every day. On one occasion I spoke with my relatives about the future. We decided to set up the "Shugarovo" Cooperative. We contracted with the sovkhoz administration and took on 200 calves. To start with, there were five people working in the cooperative. Two of them suddenly took fright and left. There were only three left.

All through the summer we kept the calves on pasture while we built pens and repaired a stock unit considered useless, and we used only manual labor and no mechanization at all.

Everything went well. Until we moved into the stock unit. Suddenly it all started. No matter how many appeals we made for assistance in acquiring construction materials, no matter how many letters were written, nothing happened, nothing at all. Don't be surprised: This is what happens in our country; nobody needs cooperatives or lease contracts. How can it be right when you have to turn to the party gorkom secretary for some trivial matter. And yet nobody at a lower position would give any attention to it.

In order to build up a good stock unit you need approximately R200,000 on credit to ensure that you don't have to do everything by hand, to ensure that I could ask my wife to work there without her having to carry tonnes of feed on her back.

Take another example. We were allocated 150 hectares of land. Land split into 5-hectare strips. The worst possible land. Nobody will give you good land. This is how we are working now. We are, of course, working 18 hours every day without any days off. But we realize that the country needs our labor. This, however, is not realized by sundry management functionaries who, instead of helping, are throwing wrenches in the wheels. Judge for yourselves: The cooperative had hardly managed to start work and we started receiving summonses to go to the Financial Department, the Central Statistical Administration, the Agro-Industrial Bank. And we had only five people working, without a full-time chairman.

Here is another delicate question. The cooperatives have no guarantees. Here we are, having concluded a 5-year contract and incurred debts, and suppose the sovkhoz boss changes in 3-4 years' time and does not fancy working with me. He has the right to break the contract after 5 years, and that will be that.

N.I. Kucherenko, leader of a leasing collective at the dairy farm of "Progress" Kolkhoz in Ryazan Oblast's Sasovskiy Rayon, shared his work experience. He described the complex and at times dramatic establishment of new production relations.

The dairy farm collective has been reduced by one-half now and it looks after 430 instead of 225 head of cattle. To put it briefly, we got rid of all the bums. Later on they really had a go at me: Dump the lease contract, dump the stock unit! But I'm not that sort of man, the lease contractor said.

We ended last year successfully. Our average additional milk yield per feed cow was 1,218 liters. The total for the year was 3,600 kg per cow. In addition to that we got 200 calves. These indicators are higher than for the kolkhoz as a whole.

Each one of our cows, the speaker told the audience, produced a net profit of R1,200 in 1988, and the total net profit we earned was, in round figures, R250,000. Each worker's average monthly wage was R700, and each one produced output worth R23,000.

If stockraising work had been organized in this fashion on the entire kolkhoz, N.I. Kucherenko estimated, the farm would have earned profits amounting to R1 million. But specialists are in no hurry to face up to lease contracts. You still have to explain to them what it all means.

M.S. Gorbachev. Nikolay Ivanovich, is your entire kolkhoz on lease contracts or not?

N.I. Kucherenko. No. Only our stock unit. Maybe self-financing would force everyone, even the loafers, to get down to work. For the time being, they call me Rockefeller, even though my pockets are empty. I pass all the profits on to the farm.

M.S. Gorbachev. This is what happens when a lease contract is like an island on a farm. You have obstacles, jealousy, and all sorts of things.

N.I. Kucherenko. And you have people talking about a lease contractor's separation from the kolkhoz. No way. I, for example, cannot manage without the kolkhoz; I pass the profit on to the kolkhoz. And if I need anything, the kolkhoz will supply me. This is something advantageous. [Kucherenko ends]

Summing up the results of the conference, M.S. Gorbachev said:

Each one of our meetings gives us a better understanding of the problem. Today we had a frank conversation. Some speeches were good, others were not so good, but this does not alter the overall picture. Generally speaking, the meeting was useful, it gives a new signal, a new impetus for reflection and for pondering all the questions we must raise at the plenum.

Comrades, we cannot afford any mistakes in the elaboration of a progressive agrarian policy in line with the country's current needs and potential. It is in order to avoid mistakes that we are holding these meetings.

Some comrades said here that this is not just a matter of management schemes and structures. Of course not. Comrade Lukinov, for example, noted that we need a comprehensive approach; there is neither a panacea nor a lever that can be applied to solve everything. This is certainly true. And I wish to emphasize that we have held in the party Central Committee, in the government, and all over the country a broad exchange of opinions on the restructuring of economic relations, on questions of social policy, and on questions of scientific backing for the agro-industrial complex and the further development of production forces on the basis of the introduction of machine systems and new, advanced technologies. We have embarked on a vast program in the processing and food industries and have already involved many sectors, including defense industry sectors, in it. A broad range of specific questions were examined at the meeting in Orel. And this work is continuing.

One way or another, we come up against agro-industrial complex problems at every conference. At today's meeting we place emphasis on organizational forms, on ways to influence the functioning of this huge national economic complex, on ensuring that it operates more efficiently and produces results to enable us to achieve a swifter resolution of the food problem.

I have already said that we intend to reveal the potential of kolkhozes through the restructuring of economic relations, through people's interest, through the provision of amenities in the countryside, and so on. But all this is actually linked with the work methods of the entire complex—at farm level, at rayon level, and at oblast, republic, and central level. This is why today I do not want to raise questions that have been discussed previously, but would rather focus attention on problems connected with management.

It seems to me that we are correct in our present approach to this question, beginning with kolkhozes and sovkhozes and ensuring that every one of them is given an opportunity to unfold its potential through leases, contracts, and economic autonomy. This is correct in my view. When we deliberate from these positions, we come to the main point: All questions of economic management must focus on specific farms. We can see the main avenue. Since kolkhozes and sovkhozes represent the main bulk of our farms, the main way to unfold their potential is through the system of diversified cooperatives functioning on full lease contracts, independent but linked through contracts and defined economic relations.

I think that many of those who criticize the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes probably have the best intentions. But I must also note that much of what has been said about kolkhozes and sovkhozes is unacceptable. It is neither scientifically substantiated, nor confirmed by life or recent practice. If we take the path of restructuring economic relations inside kolkhozes and sovkhozes (including even the transformation of sovkhozes into kolkhozes or cooperatives—and I am certain that much on sovkhozes can be done differently via the cooperative system), there are all sorts of possible options. Primary cooperatives functioning on definite contract foundations and economic mutual relations need someone to show concern for, for example, the way they obtain fuel supplies and how they acquire spare parts; they need someone to think about the marketing of their output, and so on. By pooling their efforts, all these cooperatives also create a certain social infrastructure.

From now on our large kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be able to work properly in the interests of rural working people, and therefore in the country's interests, because we are releasing their potential to boost production output.

I believe that those who do not trust kolkhozes and sovkhozes have simply not thought matters through, have not looked into things. And this must be bluntly said. This does not rule out the possibility of various other forms emerging in parallel with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Comrade Kalnynsh spoke here today of the estimated number of solid farms in the republic that will function by augmenting their already existing experience. Let them! I am certain that ultimately even these farms will strive to include lease contract relations in their structure. I am certain that this will be like a renewing second wind for them. But let them reach this conclusion on their own.

There is a group of farms following a different path, using a different approach, a different perception of the possibility of building new relations and properly integrating the public and the individual sectors. Moreover, by integrating the individual sector with kolkhozes and sovkhozes it will be possible to swiftly boost production without building new and expensive premises or complexes, since every household can become involved: It makes no diference to the owner whether he looks after two piglets or four. If there is a contract, the whole family will work—including the children and the elderly. This is all part of a single mechanism. Tremendous opportunities are now emerging for such integration.

And finally the agrocombines, agrofirms, and other associations and systems. Let them operate, I say. These forms have the right to exist, they have proved efficient, they have done a lot of work, and they have produced good results. I have no doubt that they will also draw conclusions about the need to adopt lease contract relations. Life is prompting them to draw this conclusion. Everyone must draw this conclusion; the process must be driven along. Generally speaking, this is how I would put it: Processes at the primary link level are developing in the right direction, comrades. It is only necessary to consolidate all this, to provide guarantees; but the necessary guarantees are not yet available, as has been said here. This is a dangerous symptom—if a lease contractor lacks confidence, if he lacks an opportunity to protect his lease and work with high returns. When someone earns well and is able to satisfy his material needs, work is for him a creative process, not a process based on goading and shouting. Here, incidentally, lies the colossal meaning of everything we want to achieve to ensure that lease contracts work properly, to ensure that people can show their worth.

We all must show some concern for lease contractors. As if it were not enough that the lease contract is having difficulty in making progress, these enterprising people are dubbed kulaks, Rockefellers, anything you like. And all this is because many people, especially the loafers, do not like the fact that lease contracts break down the habits and customs of the stagnation years, when it was possible to earn a decent salary working in any slapdash fashion and, bluntly speaking, even to steal things from the public weal. And nobody cared about the ultimate result.

This, comrades, is why we must protect lease contractors. A law on lease contracts is being prepared in our country. It will cover all sectors of the national economy. But we decided to exclude the question of lease relations in the countryside from the framework of that law's preparation and to cover it in a decree, so as to have a law protecting lease contractors. The people will boldly embrace a new cause if the state provides reliable legal protection. We are on the right path.

Concerning management organs at other levels, and the rayon-level link in particular, I have already said that we ought to take the path now indicated by the experience of a series of rayons already, whereby kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and all enterprises set up their own council on the basis of collaboration and voluntary principles. This gives them an opportunity to discuss and resolve on democratic principles the problems of the rayon's development—how to collaborate, how to exchange experience, seed, and selection material, how to organize marketing, how to build, and with whom to pool resources in order to get weaker farms out of trouble. Of course, the council must have the necessary apparatus to serve it. And since it would be maintained by the farms themselves, let them think about what they need and what shape it ought to take both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Hence, it seems to me, everything is clear concerning the rayon-level link. I support the idea that this complex should be joined not only by kolkhozes and sovkhozes at rayon level, but also by all processing enterprises apart from those of oblast or republic standing. The rayon council is set up to help farms in everything that might facilitate their work and to resolve questions of comprehensive servicing.

Bearing in mind the restructuring of management at farm and rayon level, the oblast and republic apparatuses ought to be relieved of all structural subdivisions that try to issue edicts on the way work should be done in fields and on stock units. The apparatus ought to retain only those links whose purpose is to harmonize and coordinate relations between farms and other components of the national economic complex at oblast, kray, and republic level, and elaborate long-term plans for socioeconomic development and for boosting the efficiency of agro-industrial production.

All this must be thought out, and correct conclusions must be drawn. It is not a matter of titles, it is a matter of functions. The apparatus' functions must be changed in line with our conclusions about the main link—the kolkhoz or sovkhoz, about the shape it ought to have, and about the principles on which it ought to function. The changed functions, structure, and work methods of the apparatus will require the appropriate specialists and scientists capable of working in the conditions created by life's new demands.

There are still a number of important and fundamental questions that need further study. They concern planning, the organization of material and technical supplies, and relations between central and local agro-industrial complex organs.

But our principle is clear: As far as the management sphere is concerned, functions must be changed starting at rayon level and ending with the center. We already have quite a few ideas, but nevertheless there is still a lot to be thought out. We also need to formulate clear-cut tasks and objectives based on accumulated experience, tested by science and practice, and leading us to a faster solution of the food question.

We are on the right path: We must give kolkhozes and sovkhozes the green light through economic restructuring, through the countryside's social restructuring, and through modernization of its material and technical base and harmonization of intersector relations. We will have to resolve all this. I would only like to emphasize the main directions in which we ought to channel our thinking so as to crystallize ideas into solutions. Let us close our conference on this note. I think that the matters we have discussed here will provide a good incentive for further advancement of the processes of restructuring.

Ligachev Emphasizes Science in Farm Production

PM2501085589 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[TASS report: "Scientific Backup for Economic Reform in the Countryside"]

[Text] What recommendations has economic science elaborated to enhance the efficiency of agro-industrial production? What can be done to increase the contribution of science to the solution of the food problem?

These questions were discussed during the visit of Comrade Ye.K. Ligachev to the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Economics of Agriculture 23 January. At the meeting with scientists, a businesslike conversation took place, in connection with the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum, on questions of the party's agrarian policy.

V.R. Boyev, director of the institute, and subdivision chiefs R.E. Praust, Ye.S. Oglobin, V.P. Alferyev, V.P. Arashukov, V.F. Vershinin, V.I. Dragaytsev, A.M. Yugay, and M.I. Palladina emphasized in their speeches the need for a comprehensive approach to the implementation of the Food Program. The scientists noted that the further balanced consolidation of the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex must be accompanied by a better utilization of existing potential and improved production relations within the agro-industrial complex system.

The elaboration and assimilation of economic methods of management and internal economic accountability within kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises on the basis of various forms of contract, production sharing, and leasing were also discussed. It was emphasized that leasing had proved one of the most effective forms of transfer to genuine economic accountability. At the same time, the scientists stressed that leasing must develop within kolkhozes and sovkhozes without disrupting the scientifically based farming and crop-rotation systems adopted on farms.

Questions of improved management, planning, economic incentives, and equivalent exchanges between industry and agriculture were discussed. Scientists spoke with alarm about the disruption of price parity, about the gulf between the prices of agricultural output, and industrial goods and services for the countryside. A proposal was made to set up a special subdivision within the institute to study this problem. Participants in the meeting expressed themselves in favor of introducing rent payments to the state by kolkhozes and sovkhozes based on an economic evaluation of their soil.

The need to pay more attention to research into agro-industrial complex investment policy, specialization and concentration of agro-industrial production, and the organization of material and technical supplies to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises was noted. With a view to strengthening the links between science and production, it was proposed to expand research based on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and rural rayons, utilizing experience accumulated in this work on farms in Pskov, Penza, Minsk, and Yaroslavl oblasts.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Ye.K. Ligachev emphasized that the improvement of production relations and the economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex must aim at the full realization of the vast potential inherent in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In this an important role belongs to agrarian economic science. The proposals for improving the economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex that were submitted by scientists will be taken into account during the preparation of materials for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The discussion was attended by Academician A.A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and F.P. Senko, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture Department.

Attempts To Water Down Lease System Deplored

PM2301164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

["Topic of the Day" article by I. Avakumov: "The Lessee Must Be Protected"]

[Text] After the vigorous support for the lease system from the very top, one might suppose it has no opponents. Everyone is now for it. And that is the danger: How not to suffocate the trusting creature in our embrace. Because there is abundant experience of this...

We do not have to look far; let us recall what one generation can remember. In the past 20-30 years there have been repeated attempts to revive the peasant. Remember the self-planning system and the emergence of various forms of contracts. Their creators intended that farmers would have extensive economic, and not just labor independence. As you will probably recall, on each occasion the introduction was a big and noisy affair. And what came of it? Only the exclusive collectives that obtained this independence on an experimental basis survived. All the rest gave up the ghost, because no one created special conditions for them; indeed, no one could because there was no provision for altering the principles of the administrative-edict system of management. What we got was a nominally progressive but essentially palliative form of production organization that had been merely adapted to the system. This contract did not produce a food miracle, and people stopped believing in the word. Something similar may happen to the lease system. It is already happening.

I remember an argument reported by IZVESTIYA exactly a year ago, on 14 January 1988. It was between Aleksandr Sarantsev, director of the "Veriginskiy" Sovkhoz in Moscow Oblast, and Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof Valeriy Rutgayzer. It was the briefest and most constructive meeting I had ever seen between a scientist and practical expert. In 30 minutes they revealed a total divergence of views on the existence at the sovkhoz of the "Snyatinka" agricultural cooperative, the first in the country. The professor claimed that a network of cooperatives would drag the farm out of the financial abyss; the director insisted that you only had to feed the animals and things would work out fine without all those cooperatives. In the 31st minute there came the offer of a bet that in a year's time the cost of meat in the cooperative would be much lower than in the sovkhoz.

The other day they summed up. The professor had won. But, to be honest, no one felt particularly happy. Why? In demonstrating that he was right, the sovkhoz has lost a year; that is why. The cost of meat has slipped almost to the market price level, while in the cooperative's case it is much lower than the store price. What you have on the big sovkhoz is a loss, if you discount subsidies. In the cooperative you have income without any subsidies. What conclusions, then, are there to be drawn?

There are several conclusions. The sovkhoz has decided to switch to the lease system. We summed up the situation at a meeting of potential lessees. Basically, this is a significant change of mind by collective and administration. And the chief economist's account of the development prospects was interesting in itself. There was no mention yet of pay. Mention of "wage rates" and "tariffs" caused uneasiness. The office remains effectively untouched and its functions have changed only negligibly. It was clear from the lessees' questions that not everything is all that clear...

It is a more than typical case. We have come face to face with a phenomenon whereby an unsuccessful attempt is being made to call hired workers lessees. Moreover, the widespread view that the lessee should exist only within the confines of the sovkhoz or kolkhoz constantly multiplies these errors. We know all too well what operating a plow by "remote control" means, but how persistent are the attempts to maintain control of the farmer. And unless the farm which is to have lessees itself changes, unless the people at the top change, and if there is essentially no change in poroduction relations, then... Right! You get the familiar smell of palliative, which once destroyed the contract system. The lease system must not suffer the same fate, because we have endured too much getting this far.

Grain Yields in USSR, Western Nations Compared

PM2401145089 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 3, 21-27 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 19 Jan) p 8

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Leonidova, in reply to reader's letter, under general heading "Last Week the Editorial Office Received 4,216 Questions"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Nos. 41 and 42 for 1987 carry a table of figures concerning the production of grain and pulse crops in a number of countries, but it is not stated from what area the grain was harvested. I regard this as concealment of our thriftlessness, great losses, and misuse of the virgin lands.

And another thing: Why are we trying to grow more wheat? In the United States they produce 56.8 million tonnes; we produce 92.3 million tonnes. They have enough, and we do not. [Signed] I. Fastunov, war invalid, Dnepropetrovsk.

[Leonidova] The reader is right. In order to form a correct idea of the efficiency of production of grain crops in the USSR compared to other countries of the world, in addition to figures on the volume of production you need information on the size of the sown areas from which this volume is obtained. In other words, information is needed on the yield (output harvested per hectare) of grain and pulse crops in the USSR and other countries.

In 1987 the yield of these crops in our country was 18.3 quintals per hectare, while the wheat yield was 18.9 quintals. In Kazakhstan the figures were 11.5 and 11.4 quintals per hectare, respectively. It is well known that in many countries the yield is considerably higher: in the United States—46.8 and 23.1; in Britain—59.7 and 69.4; in France—51.9 and 54.6; and in the FRG—53.0 and 63.1.

Grain losses during harvesting amount to 8-10 percent of our gross harvest.

The structure of grain farming in the USSR and the United States differs. In the United States wheat accounts for 18 percent of the gross harvest of grain and pulse crops, whereas in our country it was 44 percent in 1986 (in 1970 it was more than 50 percent). This is one reason for the lagging behind of our livestock raising.

At present, the structure of grain growing areas in the USSR is seeing a reduction in the proportion of wheat (in 1960 wheat occupied 52.2 percent of all sowings of grain and pulse crops, in 1970—54.7 percent, in 1986—41.8 percent) and the proportion of corn and high-protein pulses is increasing (2.9 percent in 1960, 7.1 percent in 1970, and 9.4 percent in 1986).

Agricultural Developments 20-25 January

LD2601002289 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 20-25 January. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

20 January

In Krasnodar, which has almost one-third of the country's rice paddies, new, intensive strains of rice—Stal, Spalchik, Liman, Kulon—have been developed in the hothouses of the All-Union Institute of Scientific Rice studies. In the experimental workshops the new types yield 160 quintals per hectare, but scientists believe the biological potential is twice that. The rice studies are conducted using the Kubanris computer-based production system. [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230]

21-24 January

No fileworthy items monitored.

25 January

Altay grain growers today completed seed preparations for all of their acreage to be sown—5 million hectares. (1400)

Scientific

'Mir' Personnel Run Experiments, Adjust Flight Path

LD2401153089 Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing work on board the orbital space station Mir (Peace).

Along with the unloading of the unmanned transport spacecraft Progress-39, the cosmonauts carried out a number of technical, medical and astrophysical experiments.

Using a holographic gauge, the crew checked the station's portholes and assessed their optical properties.

Polyakov, a physician, underwent a medical check-up to determine parameters of his own blood circulation system in space conditions.

Under a space astronomy programme, the crew observed an X-ray pulsar in the Vela Constellation.

Today, the cosmonauts investigated an X-ray source, X-3, in the Centaur Constellation.

After the flight path adjustment using propulsion units of Progress-39, the parameters of the manned orbital complex are now as follows:

—maximum distance from the earth's surface—376 km,

—minimum distance—340 km,

—period of revolution—91.4 minutes,

—inclination—51.6 degrees.

The flight is proceeding normally. The cosmonauts Volkov, Krikalev and Polyakov are feeling well.

'Phobos' Probe Approaching Mars Orbit

LD2301210689 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The deep space probe Phobos, launched towards Mars on July 12 last year, is continuing its flight.

The probe's flight path was adjusted today. To carry out ballistic calculations needed for that purpose, researchers used the results of measurements conducted by Soviet ground control stations across national territory and radiotelescopes situated in Goldstone, United States, Madrid, Spain and Canberra, Australia.

Measurements conducted after the manoeuvring showed that the Phobos probe is continuing movement along the path close to the calculated one.

As of today, the space probe is 177 million kilometres from earth. On January 29, the Phobos will be transferred to the orbit around Mars.

186 radio communications sessions have been conducted with the spacecraft, aimed at investigating the sun and interplanetary environment, registering bursts of gamma radiation, measuring parameters of the flight path and monitoring the operation of on-board systems.

The on-board systems and scientific instruments are functioning normally.

To Enter Orbit 29 Jan

LD2501205189 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The space probe Phobos has covered nearly half a billion kilometres in two hundred days and is approaching Mars. On January 29, when it is a mere 800,000 km from the red planet, the unmanned spacecraft will begin an important operation of entering the Mars orbit.

The probe's engines will be started and begin braking for about 200 seconds. The craft will enter an extended elliptic orbit revolving around Mars at the minimum distance above its surface of 800 km and the maximum distance of 80,000 km.

The Phobos will take about three Earth years to complete a circle around Mars. But deviations in flight path adjustments may change the parameters of its orbital travel as a mere eight minutes will be left for all operations after the completion of the braking process. The probe will then enter a "shadow" zone and communications with it will be temporarily interrupted.

Buran Flight Testing, Capabilities Discussed

LD2501213489 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The head of the flight testing of a Buran Soviet reusable spaceship described as unprecedented the mathematic and full-scale modelling of its flight at test rigs.

Air Lieutenant General Stepan Mikoyan told TASS about some features of the new spacecraft and the work of test pilots and designers before its first orbital flight last November.

The General said that when returning from orbit to Earth, Buran descends and lands without using the engine thrust. This explains considerable difficulties which arose during the spaceship's flight testing.

The flare manoeuvering, on which the accuracy of landing on the runway at an estimated speed depends, posed a special problem for experts.

Another problem was path control during the transition from gliding to runway touchdown.

Buran's analogue, during its first flights, glided to landing using the engine thrust. Later, pilots controlled the landing manually without using this thrust. The test flights confirmed the correctness of the flight path estimated and modelled at test rigs.

However, the main task was optimising pilotless landing, and the first two orbital flights have been planned to be unmanned.

On the spaceship's flight after the entry into the dense atmosphere, Mikoyan said that the onboard navigation system is used in this trajectory leg. During the re-entry the system determines the coordinates and the velocity vector.

After descending to the so-called plasma-formation zone at an altitude of 35 to 40 kilometres, which blocks radio commands, the spaceship enters the zone of activity of ground-based radio rangefinders in the aerodrome's area.

Using their signals, the onboard equipment accurately locates the spacecraft in space and corrects data in the navigation system.

Onboard computers determine the distance to the aerodrome, the flight altitude and speed, estimate an optimum trajectory, and issue steering commands.

The main task in this fight leg is to bring the spaceship into the zone of activity of landing microwave radio beacons. They emit signals using which onboard computers steer the spaceship into the estimated glide trajectory.

The onboard equipment's data is displayed in the crew cabin. It will be needed during Buran's future manned flights.

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov Tour Laser Facility 18 Jan

PM2001135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "Coordinating Strategy"]

[Text] On 18 January N.I. Ryzhkov and N.N. Slyunkov visited the "Lazernaya Tekhnika" Science-and-Production Association, which has been set up at Yerevan State University. They familiarized themselves with the activity of the collective, which tackles the development, production, and utilization of the latest laser equipment, and went into the enterprise's shops, where artificial granite crystals are grown and lighting equipment is created and tested.

The great advantages of enterprises of this kind, which see a scientific idea right through—from theoretical research to the creation and application of equipment—were noted in conversations with the leaders of the association and the university. Precisely such a comprehensive approach guarantees success in the creation of new technologies and machines. Unfortunately, today scientific research frequently stops "at the test tube level," and it takes years to get from the idea to the industrial realization of developments.

Experience of work and labor organization at the "Lazernaya Tekhnika" Science-and-Production Association shows that it is possible to create an economic

model that industrial enterprises themselves can use to seek progressive scientific developments, allocate funds to these ends, and, as a result, obtain ready-made equipment or technology. Last year alone the volume of work carried out by the science-and-production association amounted to several million rubles. The association was provided with these funds by its clients—Armenian enterprises and organizations.

Baklanov Views Work of Computer Collective
PM2501101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Computer Equipment Calls for Special Attention"]

[Text] Today no problem of scientific and technical progress can be successfully resolved without the widespread utilization of modern computer equipment. Purposeful work is under way to create computer equipment for various purposes, organize its mass production, and apply it in all sectors of the national economy and the social sphere.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the USSR Radio Ministry Scientific Research Center for Electronic and Computer Equipment 23 January. At an exhibition currently under way at the center, he acquainted himself with models of a new integrated computer system, personal computers, and computer peripherals. A thorough discussion with the center's leaders and leading specialists and staff took place. Noting the high technical standard of a number of the computer equipment models, the CPSU secretary pointed out the considerable lag in mastering their mass production and the failure to meet targets, especially with regard to personal computers and computers for use in schools. The conditions of work under full economic accountability and self-financing open up broad opportunities for eliminating these serious shortcomings within a short time.

O.D. Baklanov acquainted himself with the plans for the collective's social development. It was emphasized that efforts to improve the working people's working, living, and leisure conditions must be constantly in the field of vision of leaders of the enterprise's party and social organizations. In conversation with Communists, questions concerning practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, the enhanced activeness of CPSU members, and their responsibility for the work entrusted to them were discussed.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by senior party and management officials.

Military

Yazov Addresses Military Training Conference
LD2501145889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] The restructuring now taking place in the Army and Navy has in full measure also affected the military school. A conference of the leading personnel of the USSR Ministry of Defense military training institution, which has ended in Moscow, discussed methods to improve its work. It was noted in reports and speeches that the officer cadres have a very important role in the successful fulfillment of the tasks of restructuring and in achieving a qualitatively new state for the Soviet Armed Forces.

The results of the transformations now being implemented in the Army and Navy depend to a decisive extent on their professional and ideological-political training; their ability to work in conditions of developing glasnost and democracy; and their activity, initiative, and faithfulness to their duty. It is precisely these qualities that military training institutions are called upon to form in their students and pupils.

Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, spoke at the conference.

Reader Suggests Advance 'Discussion' of Defense Budget
PM2501123589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from G. Skorik under the general heading: "From the International Departments' Mailbag"]

[Text] Money for Defense [headline of letter]

After familiarizing myself with USSR Finance Minister B. Gostev's report "On the USSR State Budget For 1989..." at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the following question occurred to me. A total of R20.2 billion in expenditures appears in the state budget's expenditure column for defense capabilities, a sum used "to maintain USSR Armed Forces personnel, material and technical supply, military construction, and other outlays."

According to press data, U.S. military spending needs total approximately $300 billion. According to USSR Gosbank reports, the U.S. dollar exchange rate is approximately R0.6-0.7. Evidently, we should spend a minimum of approximately R200 billion on defense. If that's the case, then the following question logically arises: At the expense of which state budget items is our real total defense expenditure put together?

I believe this kind of question would not arise if our military budget were deciphered in detail and subjected to detailed discussion before being adopted, as is the practice in other countries. This is a great deal of money and it comes from our taxes.

Sorokin Chairs Meeting on Interethnic Problems

PM2001090389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

["Our Correspondent" report: "To Educate Internationalists"]

[Text] A session of the Interethnic Relations Commission under the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate was held 5 January. It ratified regulations on interethnic relations commissions (groups) to be elected by servicemen's meetings in units, on ships, and at education establishments or to be set up in combined units [soyedineniya] and groupings [obyedineniya] for the purpose of constantly studying and analyzing interethnic relations within servicemen's collectives, drafting proposals for the improvement of soldiers' internationalist education, and promptly solving conflicts that may emerge on the grounds of nationality.

It was noted at the session that the negative phenomena that recently emerged in the Transcaucasian republics and other regions of the country as a result of retreat from the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy, breaches of legality during the personality cult period, and the ideology and mentality of the times of stagnation have not bypassed servicemen's collectives and demand constant attention. Specifically, there was an analysis of the work done by commanders, political organs, and ideological cadres in the Transcaucasus Military District—which was recently visited by a group of officers from the Main Political Directorate—on the military-patriotic and internationalist education of servicemen and the consolidation of their sponsorship ties with local public organizations.

The commission's session was chaired by its chairman, Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.